

FEB 7 6 1921

The Nation

Vol. XXVIII., No. 18.]
Registered as a Newspaper.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1921.

[PRICE 9D.
Postage U.K. and Abroad 1d.]

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[The Editor will be pleased to consider manuscripts if accompanied by stamped and addressed envelopes. He accepts no responsibility, however, for manuscripts submitted to him.]

Events of the Week.

WHILE the Prime Minister is on the Continent, apparently mystified by the curious consequences there of efforts to restore peace and industry by violence, in Ireland, where the full benefits of the "knock-out" and a subsequent "peace" have not yet appeared, his agents are as active as ever in securing them. We learn that the efforts to destroy in detail the industries of the South and West of Ireland, under the name of "reprisals," have been improved by some rather clever ideas. For example, we are informed that now our uniformed men have taken to shooting dairy cattle, as accessories before the creameries. It is a bright notion: no milk, no creameries. Cork, too, must retire now at the curfew hour of 5. Nobody may be in the streets after that hour. We are told a boy was shot recently for the crime of being outside his home after that hour. Cork, says a correspondent, "is a huge gaol, and will soon be a huge lunatic asylum." But Sir Hamar Greenwood, in a speech to his constables, tells them that the men who burnt Cork and Balbriggan are peace-makers between England and Ireland.

THE Supreme Council has been sitting all the week in Paris, busied with the usual agenda. It has discussed the disarmament of Germany, the indemnity, and the Turkish Treaty many times already, and is likely to discuss them many times again. The habit of shelving or delegating its problems is evidently incurable, and that may be, on more than one big issue, the whole result of this week's work. The atmosphere on the French side was better than usual at the start. M. Briand had made his declaration and his speech to the Chamber, and won rather more than the usual big majority with which French Cabinets commonly start. He took his stand very firmly on the Anglo-French alliance as the basis of European policy, which is one way of saying that he

rejects the Poincaré solution. His Press had been even more outspoken, and the mood of France was for relative moderation in the indemnity question. This calm atmosphere seems to have been disturbed at the first meetings. Mr. Lloyd George, if we may believe "Pertinax," was sarcastic over Marshal Foch's report, thought the proposed delay till May 1st for the disarming of the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr too brief, and annoyed the French by emphasizing the danger of Bolshevism in Germany.

THIS, then, was the first momentary deadlock, not yet overcome. For our own part we watch the argument without sympathy for either disputant. The French want to dismember Germany, and that is why they force an issue that may split the Reich, for Prussia dare not coerce Bavaria at the bidding of the French. Mr. Lloyd George, on the other hand, is really defending the maintenance of a class army as an insurance against Bolshevism, and thereby entrenching the reaction. We hope his designs go no further, but we cannot forget that Mr. Churchill always favored the use of a German army to fight Soviet Russia. There is no honest solution of this question save perhaps the creation of a militia on the Swiss model, in place of the long-service professional army and the middle-class volunteer force. It is quite possible that the dissolution of the latter might tempt the Communists to make a rising, but it is equally probable that its survival may lead to a reactionary "Putsch." The next item in the Council's Agenda was shelved. There is to be a separate Conference on the Turkish question in London shortly, which the Greeks and the tame Turks will attend. As the wild Turks are meanwhile winning military successes against the Greeks, and have recovered Brusa, it is not unlikely that events may powerfully reinforce the French and Italian pleas for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres.

THE Austrian question (with which we deal elsewhere) was also shelved, though it may come up again towards the end of the week. Mr. George has dismissed the idea of a State loan, but Lord Curzon spoke with more sympathy, and the problem has been referred to a Committee of Ministers and permanent officials. The decision, if any, on the main issue of the German indemnity, is not yet known. The French are no longer interested in the fixing of a total sum, which ought, according to the Treaty, to be named by May 1st. If any sum is fixed, they insist on the maximum, however patently impossible, and fail to see what the effect on Germany's credit and energies must be. They are concentrating on getting a yearly tribute fixed at £150,000,000 for the next five years. Thereafter, they hope to raise the figure. This sum is impossibly large for a beginning. The English view insists on the naming

of a fixed total now, and it is said that Mr. George has some ingenious scheme of his own invention, which will produce a big but realizable tribute.

THE text of the British draft of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, which Mr. Krassin has carried with him to Moscow, has now been published. It contains no surprises, and the anticipations of it in our own columns turn out to have been accurate. It shows that on several important matters Mr. Krassin had managed to argue out of the way some of the worst crudities in the earlier draft, which the "Manchester Guardian" published. Though the preamble stands much as it did originally, the Caucasus is no longer included in the British sphere of interest, and the phrase has dropped out which expressly said that the Agreement made no change in the status of the parties. That, of course, expressly denied any inference which might have been built on the Agreement that it amounted practically to recognition. There is also a satisfactory clause providing for the removal of mine-fields. The "agents" of the two Governments are granted immunity not only from arrest, but also from search, a privilege at first refused.

PERHAPS the most important passage of the Agreement is the declaration that in the meantime, pending the conclusion of a definite Treaty, the Russian Government recognizes in principle its liability to compensate private persons for "goods and services" supplied to Russia, and still unpaid. As the "Times" angrily points out, this does not seem to cover either the value of concessions which have been cancelled, or of money loans. On the other hand, Russia neither makes nor renounces any claim to compensation for all our breaches of neutrality. While this draft is an improvement on the last, there remain several points of difference which may be fatal. Some of them seem easily capable of adjustment. Thus the Russians ask that the offices as well as the persons of the Governmental agents shall be immune from search. Then they ask for the right to export as well as to import their gold, after due notice, giving an option to purchase—their object being the very natural one that they want to obtain for it the world market price and not the parity rate. The Russians in their draft refer to the agreement as a "peace agreement," surely a good and welcome sign.

THE real points at issue lie outside the Agreement itself. Firstly, there is the preamble, which, in effect, marks off Persia and Asia Minor as British spheres of interest. It seems too much to expect that Russia should renounce all interest in these frontier regions. Her trade with North Persia used to be important. If the Agreement, however, means only that she must not pursue an anti-British policy there, then there ought to be mutuality. Accordingly Mr. Krassin proposes to stick to the preamble of the first British draft, which contained only the general, but mutual, pledge against hostile activities and propaganda. If there are to be detailed and one-sided stipulations, he asks that this matter be reserved for the definite Treaty, to which the Agreement is only a first step. The other big question is ignored in both drafts. What is to happen if, following on the Sagor judgment, a British Court should decide that, since the Agreement is not an act of recognition, it may seize Russian gold and goods for the debts of Tsardom? The official British view is that this is not legally possible, and a test case is suggested. The Russians want an assurance that there will be legislation if such a case should go against them. They probably have got it, at least verbally. But why not settle the

matter by recognizing the Soviet as a *de facto* Government?

THE Congress of the Italian Socialist Party at Leghorn took a sudden turn at the close, which falsified our expectations of last week. The delegates from Moscow and the Italian Left took a line so dictatorial that they entirely alienated the hesitating Centre. The Left, amounting to about one-third of the Party (with a much smaller proportion of the members in the Chamber), has accordingly left the Party, and constituted a separate Communist Party. The Majority, both Centre and Right, has, in effect, been excommunicated by Moscow. Thus, while Moscow gained ground considerably by its manœuvres in France and Germany, it has lost heavily in Italy. The French and the Germans had no record of solid work done, and no self-confidence, and they seem to have welcomed dictation which would save them from themselves. The Italians, with a big record of constructive achievement, especially in the co-operative field, felt justly much surer of themselves. The draft of the new Italian Industrial Councils Bill (the fruit of the recent semi-revolutionary occupation of the factories) is published, but the telegraphic text is not clear enough for comment.

OUR Alliance with Japan may be the key to our future relations not only with the United States, but with the Dominions. Not much is to be gleaned from the cautious speech of the Foreign Minister, Baron Uchida, in the Diet last Saturday. He recalled the fact that the Covenant of the League required admittedly some modification in the letter of the Treaty, but he went on to talk of the necessary revisions as though they were likely to be extensive. We should say ourselves that the Treaty is, or ought to be, entirely obsolete. Military alliances are superfluous, if all members of the League are pledged to mutual support. Again, if China and the Open Door have to be protected, that should be the function of the League as a whole. China is now a member of the Council, and cannot be treated as a minor or a subject State. Later in the week the Opposition, under Viscount Kato, made a strong attack on the policy of the Ministry in Siberia, largely on the ground that it explains much of the uneasiness of America. The debate was inconclusive, but it helps to confirm our view that the longer Japan trespasses on Russian soil the more has she to fear, both from external hostility and from the growing Socialist movement at home.

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the Miners' International Federation in London during the week was concerned chiefly with the effect of the trade depression on the coal industry all over Europe, and especially with the immediate reactions of the coal clauses of the Spa agreement. The loyal observance of that agreement by the Ruhr miners, who have been working seven hours overtime a week, has increased the supply of indemnity coal to France by twelve million tons a year, the total deliveries now being two million tons a month. Consequently France, who took twelve million tons only from Great Britain last year, has now a glut, French miners are on short time, the British export to France has been checked, and South Wales pits are closing down intermittently, while German industries have insufficient fuel. In due time other beneficent effects of the settlement of Europe by the wisdom of the Entente ruling class will appear, and already Clyde ship-builders, faced with the cancellation of contracts, are protesting against any further transfer of ships from Germany.

THE Conference discussion was disappointingly barren. The delegates were apathetic, and became alert only when speeches degenerated into personalities, and recriminations were exchanged. The whole proceedings gave the impression that the Conference expected nothing from the Government, and at the same time realized the danger and futility of industrial action if the Labor Party fails to influence the Government when Parliament opens. Nevertheless it would be unwise of the Government to presume on the divided views in the Labor movement regarding direct action. If the reasonable suggestions of Labor members are flouted it is possible that when the Conference meets again on February 23rd to consider the results of the Parliamentary effort, a much stronger insurgent movement from below may react on the delegates.

* * *

THE Joint Labor Committee's report on unemployment, which was endorsed by a National Conference on Thursday, contains both destructive criticism and comprehensive constructive proposals. On some of these, which are neither new nor of Labor parentage, there is common agreement. Others have been advocated by the Labor Party for many years; yet others, especially those relating to maintenance of the unemployed in the present crisis, are new and controversial. The expectation that the Committee would recommend rejection of the Government's short-time remedy was fulfilled, one of the avowed reasons being that behind the refusal to couple the proposal with any scheme of maintenance there was "a deliberate and sinister intention on the part of some at least of those who have urged its adoption" to attack wages. The Committee recalled with justice the complete indifference of the Government until recently towards the recommendations of the Labor Party in its Conference resolutions in 1917, its memorandum on war aims in 1918, its Unemployment Bill and Industrial Conference report in 1919, and its report on the cost of living in September last year.

* * *

THE Committee has now brought together in a unified form the whole of the proposals contained in these various documents, and more recent suggestions called forth by existing conditions. No one will dispute the wisdom of the recommendations that works of public utility should be planned ahead and reserved for periods of crisis, but owing to the neglect of the Government very little work of this kind is now available, and it cannot be organized on sound lines in an emergency. Afforestation on a large scale, for instance, requires long preparation, and great schemes of land reclamation must be preceded by careful prospecting and preliminary technical work. The renewal of trade with Russia, and credits for Central Europe, are subjects which ought to be worked out immediately Parliament re-assembles. Apart from these the discussion at Westminster will be concerned chiefly with the maintenance suggestions, and the tone of the adjourned Labor Conference next month will be determined by the attitude of Parliament on this matter. Against the Government plea of financial stringency Labor will oppose the argument that military waste should cease, and that "misery and irreparable degradation" must be prevented by equality of sacrifice.

* * *

AN Irish correspondent writes:—"If the charge of arson against the Crown forces required any further proof, it will be found in the evidence given at the present Quarter Sessions through the country on the prosecution of claims for malicious injuries. The

evidence fully bears out the charges made. It is not the duty of the County Court Judge to indicate the criminal; it is sufficient for him to find the malicious nature of the injury and to award the damages which the county at large must pay. But in several instances the County Court judges, men of the highest standing in their profession, who did not owe their advancement to a political faction, have not hesitated to fulfil a moral duty and have formally denounced the Government's servants as the criminals. Judge Wokeby, in awarding £13,230 at the Sligo Quarter Sessions on the claim of the Ballin-trillick Co-operative Society, said that 'the military, with officers in command, seemed to have deliberately set fire to the premises, and it must have been done under some military order.' He did not want to raise false hopes in the minds of the ratepayers, but he would put certain facts before certain authorities, and he would not grant any decree till after that. At Tullamore Judge Fleming said that the evidence pointed to the damage having been caused by servants of the Crown. In lamentably numerous instances there is similar evidence in the records of the County Courts. In some there is evidence of a better spirit on the part of the military. Richard Coady, of Nine Mile House, applied for compensation for the burning of his hay-barn and hay. He described the incendiaries at work in the village, firing explosives, breaking glass, entering the public-house. His hay was set on fire and he went to free his cattle. He was fired on. The military came along afterwards and said they saw the fire ten miles away. The officer in charge directed his own men to procure buckets and save the houses. They were bringing water to the fire when a man dressed like a policeman handled one of the buckets and said: 'What are you doing here? Do you come in to undo our work?' An officer came up and reprimanded this man for interfering."

* * *

OUR correspondent proceeds: "On Tuesday night last the chief houses of the village of Headford were burned, including the Catholic curate's house—Headford being some five miles distant from the scene of an ambush of auxiliaries. On Thursday night the district of which Sixmilebridge, in East Clare, is the centre, was laid waste by the usual lorry loads of masked and armed *pétroleurs*, who bombed down and burned some twenty houses, including the Bridgetown Creamery. In this instance their captors were content with the savage ill-treatment of the prisoners taken up, who were more fortunate than inhabitants of the Headford and Tuam district, three of whom, as the official story goes, were shot dead while attempting to evade arrest. But according to another and more detailed account the first of these, William Walsh, of Headford, was taken from his breakfast table and later found dead. He was a relation of a Galway Urban Councillor who was shot dead at Galway a few months ago. The second, Michael Hoade, of Cahirlistrane, was also arrested in his house in his sister's presence and taken outside. The third victim, James Kirwan, of Ballinalack, was sought by the armed party in the place of his brother. His father told the party that he was at work outside in the field. They went out to where he was unloading manure. Shots were fired, Kirwan dying shortly afterwards. The horse also, it is stated, was killed, whereupon the party, returning to the house, told the father that his son was shot outside. In these cases, as you observe, as in at least thirty-five other cases of prisoners shot in an alleged attempt to escape there were no witnesses—only agents and victims, and any opinion formed can be charged with being built on prejudice."

Politics and Affairs.

THE REPARATION FAKERS.

THE statesmen who have met this week for conference at Paris betray no great eagerness to grapple with the toughest of their problems, that of the German reparation. For to unwind the complicated coils of deceit in which the matter has been hidden, and to expose the naked truth, appears to them an indecent, not to say a dangerous, proceeding. And yet, if Europe is ever to make a good recovery from its financial and economic maladies, this exposure is indispensable. For the perpetual menace of a huge, unmeasured indemnity hanging over Germany is more responsible than any other factor for the failure of all the great Continental Governments to balance their accounts, the continued poisoning of their economic system by inflation, the paralysis of international trade, and the gathering volume of industrial unemployment which beset alike the victor and the vanquished countries. To name a reasonable reparation, and the form and time of payment, was one of the most obvious dictates of prudence confronting the Allies when they met two years ago. Their shirking of this duty, in order to screen the reckless falsehoods of electioneering politicians, has entailed a terrible tale of suffering by the peoples.

Is there reason to believe that even now the politicians will screw up their courage to the point of truth-telling? We confess to little hope. The issue comes up sharply now, not because of any repentance of the politicians, but because it seems urgent to the French Government to put up a new concealment of the real situation. For, according to the Versailles Treaty, the Reparation Commission is obliged to present an assessment of the entire indebtedness of Germany before the first of May. Now, had the Treaty laid down terms of reparation conformable to their pre-armistice agreement, which confined damages to direct civilian injuries due to operations of war, a sum might have been reached within the possibility of payment by Germany. But the French demand for violation of the pre-armistice pledge by the inclusion of all war-costs, compromised in favor of our smaller violation of including pensions and allowances, necessarily raised the sum of damage to a total which even inflamed politicians knew to exceed any possible capacity of Germany to pay. This outrageous folly was, of course, due to the operation of two conflicting motives in the mind of the French, and in some measure of ourselves, the desire at one and the same time to keep Germany in perpetual poverty and economic weakness, and to extort from her such swingeing damages as demanded complete economic recovery for their payment.

This injurious contradiction is slowly disappearing from the French mind. For the wide gap between French revenue and expenditure, and the impossibility of financing the restoration of the devastated areas by any taxes which the people will consent to pay, have forced the Government to concentrate attention upon getting some substantial sum from Germany at an early date. For this reason the proposal of the payment of a sum of £750,000,000 by five equal or unequal annual instalments has come to the front of the discussion. Though such an arrangement could not satisfy the pressing needs of France, whose current budget shows a far wider gulf of deficit than could be bridged by a payment of £150,000,000, it might assist

to float another loan and secure another breathing space. Cooler business minds here, and even in France, would doubtless view with satisfaction the prospect of contributions of such substantial size from Germany. But is there any solid ground for the suggestion appearing in our Press that the German Government is agreeable to this proposal, and consents to find the money? We greatly doubt it. Even if the Allies assented to the conditions said to be attached to German acceptance, in particular the abandonment of the Silesian *plébiscite*, the retention of some mercantile shipping, and free access to foreign markets, it is difficult to see how such large instalments could be paid within the next few years. For the great bulk of the payment must be made in export goods. Germany has no more gold which could be spared without a complete collapse of her foreign purchasing power. All her marketable foreign securities have gone, and, from being a creditor nation to the extent of some 1,500 millions sterling before the war, she has piled up a considerable sum of foreign indebtedness.

Some payment within the next few years could be effected by the sale or mortgage of German businesses or other properties, but no large amount could be raised in this way, unless Germany's industrial future were secured against further demands of indemnity by the Allies. There is no intention apparent on the part of the Allies, now or in the early future, to fix the total sum which Germany shall pay. What is sought is to fix a payment for the next few years, but to leave unimpaired the liberty then or later to formulate fresh and unmeasured demands, based upon estimates of German recovery. Now it is quite true that it is and must be impossible to approach any exact estimate of Germany's capacity to pay either within these five years or afterwards. For that capacity depends not only upon German industrial and commercial recovery, dependent in its turn upon the political and economic sanity of other nations, but also upon the course of gold-prices in which payment of reparation is expressed.

For the fundamental fact of the reparation question is that reparation can only be paid in the surplus of export over import trade. Before the war, though the visible import trade of Germany exceeded the export trade by some £74 millions per annum, this was more than offset by the interest on foreign securities, profits on shipping, foreign banking, trading, &c., and a considerable sum remained for further foreign investment. The whole of these "invisible exports" have been swept away by the terms of the Treaty and the post-war Allied policy, so that there must be a considerable net deficit in Germany's foreign trade. So long as this is true, no demands of the Allies and no interferences with the internal revenue administration of Germany can furnish any substantial body of reparation. If the Allies want reparation, they must restore Germany, so far as possible, to her pre-war liberties and opportunities of trade. They must cancel all the injurious clauses in the Economic and Financial Sections of the Versailles Treaty, and remove all the prohibitions, discriminations, and other restrictions upon transport and foreign trade imposed by the post-war policy of the several Allies. Nay, they must go further than this, if they desire to get for France the considerable reparation needed for the restoration of her devastated areas. They must, by organized international action, furnish such positive aids in the shape of transport, coal, and credit, as will enable the German people to restore as quickly as possible their damaged

industries, and set their finances upon such a footing as conduces to the highest productivity and the largest export trade. But such productivity is impossible until the Allied Governments make up their minds to fix a reasonable sum which the German people recognize that they can pay within a generation without letting down their population into degradation and despair, a sum the Allied nations can afford to receive without injurious reactions upon their economic system.

The wild talk of indemnities over a period of fifty years, mounting up in the latter time to an annual payment of £300 millions or more, has only to be converted into concrete terms of trade to be realized in its dangerous significance. What would be the internal condition of the recipient countries which, having accustomed themselves to receive these huge doles of free imports, and having adjusted their standards alike of production and consumption to them, were suddenly deprived of them? Or we need not look so far ahead. Suppose Germany could perform the economic miracle of suddenly converting her export deficit into a surplus large enough to start paying £150 millions a year, what forms can the payment take which would not cause grave disturbances and deep resentment in the countries that received these dumped goods? Will we take our share in dyes, drugs, and scientific instruments, or in cheap standardized textile and metal goods to outcompete our own struggling industries in their home market? Or do we want to see all the lucrative contracts of foreign countries for engines and machinery to go to Germany, in order that she may get gold marks to pay her annual instalments over a whole generation? On reflection, we should find very few articles we would consent to receive in bulk, and the same would be true of France, endeavoring to enter on her new manufacturing career with her enlarged resources of coal and iron.

The one considerable form of reparation which might have appeared obviously advantageous for France, the use of large free supplies of German labor in her work of restoration, is, it appears, precluded by the opposition of French labor, an opposition hardly likely to be lessened during the period of depression and unemployment from which France, in common with the rest of us, is suffering. It may be hoped that this time in Paris the politicians may take advice from the economists and financiers who know the realities, and that they may recognize the necessity of envisaging the whole problem of reparation, not from the standpoint of the rhetoric of justice and retribution, but from that of the needs of the suffering peoples for whose suffering they are criminally responsible. Repentance, indeed, is needed, but it is the repentance of the politicians whose mingled violence, double-dealing, and greed have over-reached themselves, and plunged Europe into a morass of misery not, as they pretend, the natural and necessary sequel of the war, but largely the fruits of political incompetence and knavery.

HOW WILL IT LOOK ?

SOME day a historian will sit down to do for the Irish what Mr. Trevelyan has done for the Italian struggle for freedom. He will collect all the legends and traditions that have come down by word of mouth. Those legends will preserve the haunting terror of the Black-and-Tans, the burning of men's homes, the flight of women and children to the mountains, the heroism of simple boys

who refused to purchase life by betraying secrets, and all the incidents that we associate with the resistance of a people to the oppression of a powerful and ruthless Government. There is no danger in a country where legend and memory are so living and passionate an element, that any of these traditions will lose their force and significance. The Black-and-Tans will be remembered as vividly as the Hessians who were till yesterday a nursery bogey in Irish homes. When he comes to documents the historian will find in old newspaper files reports of the trial of children for speaking Irish, or for collecting pennies for a memorial to a political prisoner who died in jail, or for carrying flags, or for singing old Irish songs. He will find that men have gone to prison for two years for such offences. But there will be one great gap in his material, for the inquiries into such incidents as Croke Park or Balbriggan, or for scores of murders by armed men, have either been held in secret or so conducted that little weight will be given to their imperfect records. On the other hand, he will have the benefit of a number of official documents, and we can see already the kind of picture that a history in which these documents find a place will present to our children and grandchildren.

One of the most important of these documents is the "Weekly Summary." This, it will be explained, is a paper which Sir Hamar Greenwood established as a means of keeping up the spirits of his constables. These constables were men enlisted by the medium of an advertising agency for ex-soldiers who could not find employment in England. The "Weekly Summary" will be the most important document that the historian can use for showing the spirit which Sir Hamar Greenwood wished to introduce and maintain in a body of men armed with such powers as no British force had exercised since 1798. Let us note a few of the extracts that were chosen for publication in this paper. A number of them are threatening resolutions attributed to persons spoken of as "The Anti-Sinn Fein Society."

"If in future any member of His Majesty's Forces be murdered, two members of the Sinn Fein Party in the County of Cork will be killed. And in the event of a member of the Sinn Fein Party not being available, three sympathisers will be killed. This will apply equally to laity and clergy of all denominations. In the event of a member of His Majesty's Forces being wounded, or an attempt made to wound him, one member of the Sinn Fein Party will be killed, or if a member of the Sinn Fein Party is not available, two sympathisers will be killed."—(This was literally carried out a few weeks later.)

"A fair warning to Sinn Feiners and sympathisers: Lisburn will claim not an eye for an eye, but three or more lives for either the murder of or injury to any local member of the Royal Irish Constabulary or Auxiliary Forces."

"NOTICE."

"If G. Hogan is not returned by 4 o'clock on to-day (Friday), 10th December, rebels of Cork, beware, as one man and one shop shall disappear for each hour after the given time. (Signed), B. and T.'s."

"SINN FEINERS GET A WARNING."

"Organisation Headquarters, Retaliation Section B.

"It is your duty to support your Government. Don't harbor, engage by hire or otherwise, associates of Sinn Fein or members of that murderous society. We warn you that, if you do, revenge will be taken by means not yet heard of.

"By order, Secret Service Dept., 2 B, No. 17396 V."

"The public funeral of the murdered officers was a solemn and impressive sight, by which many thousands were deeply affected, and we have not a word to say against it. But a far more satisfactory tribute to the

dead would have been the spectacle of a Sinn Fein murderer hanging on every lamp-post in Sackville Street and Grafton Street, and that is what ought to have been done."—*The Winning Post*.

"Alderman MacSwiney would seem to have been most anxious for the world to note that he 'died a soldier of the Irish Republic.' . . . He might just as reasonably have averred that he died an Admiral of the Swiss Navy."

Another Government proclamation that will strike the imagination is the warning that "harboring" rebels is an offence punishable with death.

"(d) That a state of armed insurrection exists, that any person taking part therein or harboring any person who has taken part therein, or procuring, inviting, aiding or abetting any person to take part therein, is guilty of levying war against His Majesty the King, and is liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer DEATH."

This threat has provoked an answer from Irishwomen, who have published a manifesto: "Irishwomen scorn a proclamation that would make them traitors to their country. They will prove no less true to their soldiers than Nurse Cavell to England's." This is a parallel that will occur to most minds. But the historian when he comes to the proclamation will recall another episode in English history, the execution of Alice Lisle in 1685 for sheltering two of Monmouth's followers, of which Macaulay gives so vivid an account. Macaulay wrote his History in the year 1848; a year, like this, of tumult and civil strife in all parts of Europe, when men's judgment was liable to be deranged by all the emotions and fears that are active to-day. All the more significant, then, is the severity of the judgment he passes on the brutal threat to punish men and women who harbor rebels with the punishment of death. "The law of principal and accessory then was, and is to this day, in a state disgraceful to English jurisprudence." Macaulay was writing seventy-two years ago. He pointed out that he who conceals from justice a man he knows to be a murderer is liable to punishment, but not to the punishment of murder, but anyone who conceals "the rebel who, vanquished, hunted down, and in mortal agony, begs for a morsel of bread and a cup of water," is liable to the punishment of high treason. Our Government takes advantage of this anomaly to threaten death to men and women who hide a son whose offence is not murder but the possession of arms or the membership of a political society which the Government chooses to outlaw. "Since the beginning of the great civil war numerous rebels, some of them far more important than Hickes or Nelthorpe, have been protected from the severity of victorious Governments by female adroitness and generosity. But no English ruler who has been thus baffled, the savage and implacable James alone excepted, has had the barbarity even to think of putting a lady to a cruel and shameful death for so venial and amiable a transgression." The savage and implacable James is no longer the sole exception.

The Mr. Trevelyan of the future will note these official declarations as a guide to the temper of our administration. They will prepare him for the fuller picture supplied in the admirable Report of the Labor Commission (now available at 2s. a copy) and the pamphlet, "Who Burnt Cork City?" published by the Irish Labor Party, to be obtained for sixpence from the offices of the Labor Party, 33, Eccleston Square. The first of these documents gives a vivid but careful picture of life in Ireland under this régime, and the picture bears a remarkable resemblance to life in Italy seventy years ago under the rule of Austria. It discusses the murders and burnings committed by armed servants of the Crown without punishment or censure; it describes the life of

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There is, so far as we know, no new cause for the present acute crisis. The krone has kept on sinking, sometimes steadily, often with a rush, until it now stands at about 1,900 instead of the old 25 to the pound. That in itself would not necessarily mean absolute ruin: Poland somehow jogs along with her mark at 3,000 instead of the nominal 20 to the pound. The difference in the two cases is, of course, that Poland produces normally not only a sufficiency but a surplus of food, a surplus of petroleum, and coal enough, if it were properly distributed, for her ordinary needs. Austria, on the other hand, must purchase almost all her food, all her coal and oil, and all her raw materials, except iron ore, from abroad. It is not so much the low value of the krone, as its instability, which renders this impossible. If a note of one, or even of two, thousand kronen were always worth a pound, it would serve the purposes of currency as well as a note of twenty-five. The whole trouble is that it may lose half its value in a few weeks. That actually happens. Prices have risen in Vienna no less than 100 per cent. during the past two months. The natural result is that nearly every trade has had strikes for higher paper wages, and the strikes are commonly useless, for few industries have the fuel or the materials to carry on at all. The State is bankrupt many times over, and, unless it gets a fresh loan from the Allies, its stocks of food will be exhausted and irreplaceable within two months, or less.

There are, broadly speaking, four types of solution for such a situation as this: (1) One is to go on with the old plan: that is to say, to leave the chaos as it stands,

with the certainty that it can only get worse with further delay, but in the interval to toss a little food, or the money wherewith to buy food, into Vienna, merely to prevent the scandal which might be caused by the more or less simultaneous death of the whole population. (2) The only adequate solution would be a big political and economic reconstruction, involving not merely credits, but the complete revision of the Treaty. (3) As a compromise Sir William Goode, with the assent of his French and Italian colleagues on the Reparation Commission, has proposed a Governmental loan from the Allies, spread, in diminishing annual instalments, over five years, and totalling £50,000,000. In return for this he proposes that Austria shall accept the financial control (which, indeed, the Treaty already in some measure imposes) of his Commission. He reckons that such a loan, coupled with an international responsibility for Austrian finance, would suffice to stabilize the exchange, and would assure the regular importation of the necessary coal, raw materials, and food. Austria, after all, has still many assets, well-equipped factories, a skilful and industrious working class, an expert knowledge of the whole South-Eastern market with valuable business connections, and also her natural resources of timber, water-power, and iron-ore. If the wheels were once set going, argue the advocates of this plan, Austria could save herself, and might in five years be solvent and able to stand alone. We doubt the adequacy of the scheme, but at any rate it is a vast improvement on the haphazard habit of flinging belated and inadequate doles, which stave off starvation but neither restart industry nor restore the currency.

This plan has, apparently, met with the brusque and contemptuous opposition of Mr. Lloyd George, who is said to refuse any Government loan, and to suggest private loans, on some vague plan which, at the twelfth hour, he has set sundry officials to improvise. It is natural enough, after squandering hundreds of millions on Russian expeditions and the conquest of Mesopotamia, that Mr. George, with the Anti-Wastrels barking at his heels, should dislike the idea of a State loan. Yet if he really believes that the Allies, in the next five years, can extort an annual £150,000,000 from Germany, Sir William Goode's plan would ask only for the surrender of one-fifteenth of this booty. Moreover, some part of the credit, if it were spent on coal and the electrical material required for utilizing Austria's abundant water-power, would bring employment to this country, besides relieving us of some of our unmarketable stores of wool. It seems unlikely that private credits can be found for a Republic in this desperate plight, but if it be possible, it will be on onerous and usurious terms. If they can be found, it will only mean that certain groups of financiers will go in to exploit the ruin, by plundering such assets as still remain, and buying good European labor at the price commonly paid to coolies. That is happening already on a small scale.

To our thinking, the moral obligation on the Allied Governments to restore Austria is as clear and imperative as the Ten Commandments. The war made some of this ruin, but most of it is the deliberate work of the Peace Treaty. It was MM. Clemenceau and George who dismembered the Dual Monarchy, without imposing on its much too independent fragments the duty of collaborating economically for the common good. German Austria in consequence has been, and still is, for all practical purposes, blockaded by all her neighbors. It was they who refused to detach the solidly German territory on the fringes of Tchecho-Slovakia, which contains much of the coal and corn lands that Austria needs. It was they who vetoed a union with Germany. They, too, are the

responsible authors of the monstrous financial clauses which place upon German Austria, the poorest and smallest fragment of the old Austrian Empire, the entire burden of its war debt, not to speak of half-a-dozen other minor injustices, and the fantastic liability for an indemnity. All this was done, partly, perhaps, in culpable ignorance, partly from hatred towards the German race (though we never yet met an English man or woman who disliked Austrians), but chiefly as part of a strategic plan for isolating Germany. That involved the grossest partiality towards the Non-German States carved out of the Dual Monarchy, and they were aggrandized, in defiance of right, humanity, and economics, at Austria's expense. If, for their own ends, the Allied Powers chose to make a settlement ruinous in its economic effects on Austria, the plain obligation lies on them to make her existence tolerable. If you blow up a house for military reasons, you must compensate the owner. If for the same reasons you ruin Austrian industry, you must at all haste feed her population, or enable it to feed itself. This duty the Allies shirk. For our part we disbelieve in the success of Sir William Goode's scheme, without a complete revision of the Treaty. The financial clauses must be scrapped, and the veto on union with Germany removed. For the moment the inhumanity of the Supreme Council looks fairly safe. That is a short view. Sooner or later the Nemesis is coming for all this blundering cruelty, and it will come because all Europe sees that its destinies are in hands as incompetent as they are callous.

A LIBERAL CHALLENGE TO LIBERALISM.

THE Executive of the National Liberal Federation will have done a considerable service, not merely to Liberalism, but to the industrial and financial security and progress of the nation, if it can obtain the solid support of the party for its economic and industrial programme. The formulation of that programme reflects the delicacy of the situation in the blend of courage and caution which it displays. The proposals are strong, clear, and precise, when they refer to those causes of Free Trade, economy, and land reform (including the taxation of land values), which belong to the accepted stock of Liberalism. The land sections of the programme are, indeed, an interesting survival and development of the old political antagonism between the industrial and the landed interests which permeated the early nineteenth century political economy, and furnished the sharp conflict of the Free Trade struggle.

Our Liberal reformers proceed more carefully (one might almost say more gingerly) when approaching the great issues of industrial control and property, where Liberalism has hitherto stood for a minimum of political interference. The precision of their attitude upon the acquisition of land, for instance, is in almost humorous contrast with the vague brevity of their declaration upon the heated subject of nationalization of industries. To say that "certain industries and services which tend to exclude free competition may be advantageously nationalized or municipalized, each case being considered on its merits," is too obviously worded as a non-committal to avoid controversy. Now there are times when such tactics may be justified. But, if it be any part of

the purpose of Liberal reformers to retain the confidence of social Radicals in the new constructive claims of Liberalism, and to stop their desertion to the Labor Party, this delicacy is quite misplaced. For, if this nationalization clause means anything, it must at least contemplate the public ownership of mines and railways. Why, then, omit these obvious illustrations? For unless the Liberal Party can be brought quite early to a plain recognition that these and certain other industries can no longer be left to private enterprise, it must dwindle into impotence. It is quite likely that our programme-makers are well aware of this, but we think they would have been well advised to have nailed their colors more securely to the mast. It might also have been expected that, in thus contemplating the possibility of nationalizing industries, they should have given a definite recognition to that severance of management from ownership which is the new feature of State Socialism. For the most reasonable and substantial objections to the displacement of private by public ownership, the stoutest fight for private profiteering in monopolies, rest upon the deep distrust of bureaucratic management which pervades all sections of the community. One of the two really crucial issues lies here. As the Committee recognizes, competition is giving place to combination in an increasing number of trades. Trusts and combines are everywhere taking control. It is little to the purpose to propose laws making illegal such combinations and the price-fixing and discriminations which they produce. Such laws cannot be enforced effectively. More continuous modes of drastic control over prices will be the only alternative to nationalization, and such a procedure would evoke a huge growth of that very bureaucratic power which everyone wants to avoid.

This leads us to the other crucial issue, the satisfaction of the new demand of Labor for a voice in the control and management of industry. For the attacks upon modern Capitalism proceed from two sources, the consumer and the worker, both of whom complain that their vital interests in the conduct of industry are not secure so long as the owners of the single factor, Capital, are legally and actually dictators. A serious attempt is made in this programme to envisage the representative self-government which must displace this autocracy of Capital, if industrial peace and progress are to be made possible. Perhaps it would not have been wise to go far in drawing the lines of this new industrial system. But in any convincing presentation of the large proposal for a National Industrial Council, with Trade Councils responsible to it for the administration of important functions in the several industries, two points will demand development. The first is political, namely, the powers devolving from the State upon these bodies. Are statutory powers to vest in the National Council (which is to be responsible to Parliament), enabling the several Trade Councils, with its consent, to enforce wage and hour and other conditions of labor for whole trades? Or are these bodies to possess the merely advisory powers of Whitley Councils? Not less important is the question of the extent of the functions of these bodies, especially with regard to determining "the full and proportionate reward of labor where the returns to Capital are on the increase," and "the fair division of the product of industry." This language bestows upon the National Council a general control of immeasurable size over the distribution of wealth. We should be the last to wish to deny or to disparage the importance of setting up a representative body, endowed with the duty

of discovering and applying the principles of a fair division of the product, and we agree that in the interests of public safety and sound order it may be necessary that statutory powers should rest in such body for the curbing of the anti-social action of selfish industrial interests, whether of Capital or of Labor. We think the Committee right in refusing to commit itself to profit-sharing or any other special mode of harmonizing the interests of Capital and Labor. The study of the structure of industry ought to make it evident that many different ways of securing the play of adequate incentives to industrial efficiency are needed for different cases.

But these industrial proposals and their necessary implications must lead Liberals to recognize that a very large abandonment of the old practices of *laissez faire* is inevitable, and that the functions of the State in industry must be enlarged considerably beyond the grudging limits of the ordinary factory laws. For, apart from contemplated cases of nationalization and trust-control, the State is to contribute towards provisions for unemployment, and—a more dubious proposal—towards the present emergency in housing, while compulsory

powers of acquiring land for public utilities are to be demanded for the local government.

With the authors of this programme we hold that most or all of these demands are not merely consistent with, but essential to, the policy of equality of opportunity which gives reality to personal liberty. If they can convince the wavering mind of the public that the Liberal Party, still containing many men of wealth and industrial dominance, is not merely willing but enthusiastic to undertake this great campaign of industrial and financial reconstruction, taxing themselves heavily to pay off war debts, and sharing with the workers the control, and even, in a real sense, the management and profits of those businesses which hitherto they had regarded as exclusively their own, then Liberalism, dead in most Continental countries, can continue here to pursue a useful and an adventurous career. It may live either in friendly rivalry, or in loose, though effective, co-operation with the Labor Party, for breaking reactionary government and working out a comprehensive policy of social-economic reform.

THE NEW BELGIUM.

POLITICAL conditions in Belgium are at the moment extraordinarily complicated, and it must be difficult for the British observer to gauge the significance of the new Cabinet and its composition. Yet the foreign policy of a country like Belgium, reacting as it does on Entente problems, is by no means without interest for the British public.

The advent to power of M. Carton de Wiart, member of the Committee for National Politics (Comité de Politique Nationale), most decidedly means a strengthening of the influence exercised by the aforesaid Committee on the Government, especially on their international politics. This Committee has undoubtedly, amongst its members, many superior men, all, however, recruited from the extremely limited circle (mostly from Brussels) of politicians, journalists, professors, literary men, followers of the free professions, superior officers, with a number of merchant kings and industrial magnates. These provide the Committee with money, which it spends lavishly, and it has a close connection with the daily Press in Belgium, which is nearly exclusively French. In this way the Committee is able to make a brave show of considerable importance, in consequence of which many outsiders do not notice the entire lack of adherents amongst the large masses of the nation.

Nor is the sympathy of the Court foreign to the undeniable influence which these people exercise. They are the standard-bearers of annexation at the expense of Holland, and it was their intrigues which induced the Government, at the eleventh hour, to break off the negotiations with Holland with regard to the revision of the 1839 Treaties. In this way they hoped to get hold of a lever to use in connection with the Treaty with France, which was then in course of preparation and has since been concluded.

These people look to the South. Their aim is to bind Belgium still more firmly to France by means of a naval and economic treaty, in addition to the above-mentioned Military Convention. Every Englishman who pays any attention to happenings on the Western Continent must have noticed that, ever since the Armistice, Belgian politics have meekly followed the French lead. They have become so accustomed to this

in Paris, that a petty incident, like the one about the passage of Polish munitions, exposed the then head of the Government, M. Delacroix, to a sharp rebuke from a high official at the Quai d'Orsay, M. Paléologue.

Not a few, however, in various circles, but more especially amongst the old soldiers, remember with bitterness the days of the war when it was said that they ought to go on fighting because Germany desired to tie Belgium to herself. These old soldiers—and the majority of the Flemish people as well—declare that they will not grant to the South what they then refused (and still now refuse) to suffer from the East. Real independence for Belgium cannot exist within the net of these treaties.

The Committee for National Politics and its partisans have also a Rhine policy, and are inordinately proud of it. In this matter, also, they agree with the groups which at present have the whip hand over France, and pursue a policy which has been formulated as follows: "To surround France by a girdle of neutral States, in theory her *protégés*, in practice her vassals, to serve as a bulwark for her safety, as a vanguard of her influence." For that reason a Rhine Republic must be artificially established. In that manner a second vassal State would be born; the first, Belgium, has already been trained, and performs her task—under the approving eye of the masters in Paris.

An obvious corollary to this policy is the harassing of Great Britain. As the world policy of France and Britain seemed to drift further apart, the attacks on Britain became bolder and more open. On the occasion, first of the Frankfurt expedition, and again of the Polish and Russian troubles, practically the whole of the French-Belgian Press assailed Great Britain.

Of course, one need not imagine that the new Cabinet would at once act freely and frankly on the lines of the Committee for National Policy. The nation will not cheerfully submit to the disastrous consequences of this fatal policy, with its unavoidable trail of crushing military burdens and its final prospect of absorption by the Southern neighbor. This already becomes evident from the fact that M. Carton de Wiart saw himself compelled to entrust the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to M. Jaspar, notwithstanding a furious

dead would have been the spectacle of a Sinn Fein murderer hanging on every lamp-post in Sackville Street and Grafton Street, and that is what ought to have been done."—*The Winning Post*.

"Alderman MacSwiney would seem to have been most anxious for the world to note that he 'died a soldier of the Irish Republic.' . . . He might just as reasonably have averred that he died an Admiral of the Swiss Navy."

Another Government proclamation that will strike the imagination is the warning that "harboring" rebels is an offence punishable with death.

"(d) That a state of armed insurrection exists, that any person taking part therein or harboring any person who has taken part therein, or procuring, inviting, aiding or abetting any person to take part therein, is guilty of levying war against His Majesty the King, and is liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer DEATH."

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The new fact which has emerged this week has been that the dying nation is simulating, in its last convulsions, some apparently purposeful tremors in its emaciated limbs. A corpse will sometimes kick in a random, reflex way, very distressing to the spectators. Two or even three distinct threats came over the telegraph wires, and attracted a momentary attention. The Austrian Government talked of resigning its intolerable function of governing an impossible State, and proposed to hand over the reins to the Reparation Commission. The Chamber proposed to set on foot an immediate *plébiscite* to sanction union with Germany. The Trade Unions, finally, gave notice that on a given day they would start hanging the profiteers in food from lamp-posts. None of these threats was taken very seriously. At the best of times the Viennese were always an easy-going and good-natured people, who joked more readily than they revolted. Their present misery has robbed them of such power of action as they ever possessed. Hunger in its first stages will often produce a febrile and

passionate activity. Once that stage is past, the patient is no longer dangerous. He becomes mentally dull and physically inert. He can just get through the routine of the day. But he can form no new resolution, think no original thought, perform no unaccustomed deed. In the earlier stages of hunger, the Berliners, a much more energetic race, attempted two hunger-revolutions under Spartacist leadership. They are quite quiet now. The unemployed of Vienna toyed twice with Bolshevism in the spring and early summer of 1919, but achieved nothing more formidable than a riot. They are even less likely, we should say, to be obtrusive now. Even the threat to hang the profiteers went no further than the carrying of a toy-gallows in an admirably orderly procession. The fact is, of course, that Vienna is paralyzed by the knowledge that it owes even the miserable rations which it does receive to the so-called charity of the Allied and Associated Powers, and it has been told, with brutal plainness, that these doles will stop if it makes the least move towards Bolshevism. It would be fairly easy to set up a Soviet any day in Vienna, but the whole population would, in that event, perish within a month. The three countries, Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria, which have "gone red" (though in two cases only for a short time), happen to be able to feed themselves. It is precisely because Austria is so pitifully helpless, so completely unable to make herself formidable, or even embarrassing, to those who have wronged her, that she is treated with such inhuman callousness. The Allies know very well that her Socialists are the mildest in Europe, that even her "Christians" do not make pogroms, that her little army (much below the total allowed by the Treaty) is a harmless Civic Guard, and that Vienna hates militarism as it hates every sort of violence and bad manners. This patience is its own reward. The Viennese are too civilized for this emergency. If Magyars or Serbs had endured one-tenth of this misery, they would have set all Europe on fire. Vienna lies down to die, and no one is impressed when at last it tries in desperation to bluff.

There is, so far as we know, no new cause for the present acute crisis. The krone has kept on sinking, sometimes steadily, often with a rush, until it now stands at about 1,900 instead of the old 25 to the pound. That in itself would not necessarily mean absolute ruin: Poland somehow jogs along with her mark at 3,000 instead of the nominal 20 to the pound. The difference in the two cases is, of course, that Poland produces normally not only a sufficiency but a surplus of food, a surplus of petroleum, and coal enough, if it were properly distributed, for her ordinary needs. Austria, on the other hand, must purchase almost all her food, all her coal and oil, and all her raw materials, except iron ore, from abroad. It is not so much the low value of the krone, as its instability, which renders this impossible. If a note of one, or even of two, thousand kronen were always worth a pound, it would serve the purposes of currency as well as a note of twenty-five. The whole trouble is that it may lose half its value in a few weeks. That actually happens. Prices have risen in Vienna no less than 100 per cent. during the past two months. The natural result is that nearly every trade has had strikes for higher paper wages, and the strikes are commonly useless, for few industries have the fuel or the materials to carry on at all. The State is bankrupt many times over, and, unless it gets a fresh loan from the Allies, its stocks of food will be exhausted and irreplaceable within two months, or less.

There are, broadly speaking, four types of solution for such a situation as this: (1) One is to go on with the old plan: that is to say, to leave the chaos as it stands,

with the certainty that it can only get worse with further delay, but in the interval to toss a little food, or the money wherewith to buy food, into Vienna, merely to prevent the scandal which might be caused by the more or less simultaneous death of the whole population. (2) The only adequate solution would be a big political and economic reconstruction, involving not merely credits, but the complete revision of the Treaty. (3) As a compromise Sir William Goode, with the assent of his French and Italian colleagues on the Reparation Commission, has proposed a Governmental loan from the Allies, spread, in diminishing annual instalments, over five years, and totalling £50,000,000. In return for this he proposes that Austria shall accept the financial control (which, indeed, the Treaty already in some measure imposes) of his Commission. He reckons that such a loan, coupled with an international responsibility for Austrian finance, would suffice to stabilize the exchange, and would assure the regular importation of the necessary coal, raw materials, and food. Austria, after all, has still many assets, well-equipped factories, a skilful and industrious working class, an expert knowledge of the whole South-Eastern market with valuable business connections, and also her natural resources of timber, water-power, and iron-ore. If the wheels were once set going, argue the advocates of this plan, Austria could save herself, and might in five years be solvent and able to stand alone. We doubt the adequacy of the scheme, but at any rate it is a vast improvement on the haphazard habit of flinging belated and inadequate doles, which stave off starvation but neither restart industry nor restore the currency.

This plan has, apparently, met with the brusque and contemptuous opposition of Mr. Lloyd George, who is said to refuse any Government loan, and to suggest private loans, on some vague plan which, at the twelfth hour, he has set sundry officials to improvise. It is natural enough, after squandering hundreds of millions on Russian expeditions and the conquest of Mesopotamia, that Mr. George, with the Anti-Wastrels barking at his heels, should dislike the idea of a State loan. Yet if he really believes that the Allies, in the next five years, can extort an annual £150,000,000 from Germany, Sir William Goode's plan would ask only for the surrender of one-fifteenth of this booty. Moreover, some part of the credit, if it were spent on coal and the electrical material required for utilizing Austria's abundant water-power, would bring employment to this country, besides relieving us of some of our unmarketable stores of wool. It seems unlikely that private credits can be found for a Republic in this desperate plight, but if it be possible, it will be on onerous and usurious terms. If they can be found, it will only mean that certain groups of financiers will go in to exploit the ruin, by plundering such assets as still remain, and buying good European labor at the price commonly paid to coolies. That is happening already on a small scale.

To our thinking, the moral obligation on the Allied Governments to restore Austria is as clear and imperative as the Ten Commandments. The war made some of this ruin, but most of it is the deliberate work of the Peace Treaty. It was MM. Clemenceau and George who dismembered the Dual Monarchy, without imposing on its much too independent fragments the duty of collaborating economically for the common good. German Austria in consequence has been, and still is, for all practical purposes, blockaded by all her neighbors. It was they who refused to detach the solidly German territory on the fringes of Tchecho-Slovakia, which contains much of the coal and corn lands that Austria needs. It was they who vetoed a union with Germany. They, too, are the

responsible authors of the monstrous financial clauses which place upon German Austria, the poorest and smallest fragment of the old Austrian Empire, the entire burden of its war debt, not to speak of half-a-dozen other minor injustices, and the fantastic liability for an indemnity. All this was done, partly, perhaps, in culpable ignorance, partly from hatred towards the German race (though we never yet met an English man or woman who disliked Austrians), but chiefly as part of a strategic plan for isolating Germany. That involved the grossest partiality towards the Non-German States carved out of the Dual Monarchy, and they were aggrandized, in defiance of right, humanity, and economics, at Austria's expense. If, for their own ends, the Allied Powers chose to make a settlement ruinous in its economic effects on Austria, the plain obligation lies on them to make her existence tolerable. If you blow up a house for military reasons, you must compensate the owner. If for the same reasons you ruin Austrian industry, you must at all haste feed her population, or enable it to feed itself. This duty the Allies shirk. For our part we disbelieve in the success of Sir William Goode's scheme, without a complete revision of the Treaty. The financial clauses must be scrapped, and the veto on union with Germany removed. For the moment the inhumanity of the Supreme Council looks fairly safe. That is a short view. Sooner or later the Nemesis is coming for all this blundering cruelty, and it will come because all Europe sees that its destinies are in hands as incompetent as they are callous.

A LIBERAL CHALLENGE TO LIBERALISM.

THE Executive of the National Liberal Federation will have done a considerable service, not merely to Liberalism, but to the industrial and financial security and progress of the nation, if it can obtain the solid support of the party for its economic and industrial programme. The formulation of that programme reflects the delicacy of the situation in the blend of courage and caution which it displays. The proposals are strong, clear, and precise, when they refer to those causes of Free Trade, economy, and land reform (including the taxation of land values), which belong to the accepted stock of Liberalism. The land sections of the programme are, indeed, an interesting survival and development of the old political antagonism between the industrial and the landed interests which permeated the early nineteenth century political economy, and furnished the sharp conflict of the Free Trade struggle.

Our Liberal reformers proceed more carefully (one might almost say more gingerly) when approaching the great issues of industrial control and property, where Liberalism has hitherto stood for a minimum of political interference. The precision of their attitude upon the acquisition of land, for instance, is in almost humorous contrast with the vague brevity of their declaration upon the heated subject of nationalization of industries. To say that "certain industries and services which tend to exclude free competition may be advantageously nationalized or municipalized, each case being considered on its merits," is too obviously worded as a non-committal to avoid controversy. Now there are times when such tactics may be justified. But, if it be any part of

the purpose of Liberal reformers to retain the confidence of social Radicals in the new constructive claims of Liberalism, and to stop their desertion to the Labor Party, this delicacy is quite misplaced. For, if this nationalization clause means anything, it must at least contemplate the public ownership of mines and railways. Why, then, omit these obvious illustrations? For unless the Liberal Party can be brought quite early to a plain recognition that these and certain other industries can no longer be left to private enterprise, it must dwindle into impotence. It is quite likely that our programme-makers are well aware of this, but we think they would have been well advised to have nailed their colors more securely to the mast. It might also have been expected that, in thus contemplating the possibility of nationalizing industries, they should have given a definite recognition to that severance of management from ownership which is the new feature of State Socialism. For the most reasonable and substantial objections to the displacement of private by public ownership, the stoutest fight for private profiteering in monopolies, rest upon the deep distrust of bureaucratic management which pervades all sections of the community. One of the two really crucial issues lies here. As the Committee recognizes, competition is giving place to combination in an increasing number of trades. Trusts and combines are everywhere taking control. It is little to the purpose to propose laws making illegal such combinations and the price-fixing and discriminations which they produce. Such laws cannot be enforced effectively. More continuous modes of drastic control over prices will be the only alternative to nationalization, and such a procedure would evoke a huge growth of that very bureaucratic power which everyone wants to avoid.

This leads us to the other crucial issue, the satisfaction of the new demand of Labor for a voice in the control and management of industry. For the attacks upon modern Capitalism proceed from two sources, the consumer and the worker, both of whom complain that their vital interests in the conduct of industry are not secure so long as the owners of the single factor, Capital, are legally and actually dictators. A serious attempt is made in this programme to envisage the representative self-government which must displace this autocracy of Capital, if industrial peace and progress are to be made possible. Perhaps it would not have been wise to go far in drawing the lines of this new industrial system. But in any convincing presentation of the large proposal for a National Industrial Council, with Trade Councils responsible to it for the administration of important functions in the several industries, two points will demand development. The first is political, namely, the powers devolving from the State upon these bodies. Are statutory powers to vest in the National Council (which is to be responsible to Parliament), enabling the several Trade Councils, with its consent, to enforce wage and hour and other conditions of labor for whole trades? Or are these bodies to possess the merely advisory powers of Whitley Councils? Not less important is the question of the extent of the functions of these bodies, especially with regard to determining "the full and proportionate reward of labor where the returns to Capital are on the increase," and "the fair division of the product of industry." This language bestows upon the National Council a general control of immeasurable size over the distribution of wealth. We should be the last to wish to deny or to disparage the importance of setting up a representative body, endowed with the duty

of discovering and applying the principles of a fair division of the product, and we agree that in the interests of public safety and sound order it may be necessary that statutory powers should rest in such body for the curbing of the anti-social action of selfish industrial interests, whether of Capital or of Labor. We think the Committee right in refusing to commit itself to profit-sharing or any other special mode of harmonizing the interests of Capital and Labor. The study of the structure of industry ought to make it evident that many different ways of securing the play of adequate incentives to industrial efficiency are needed for different cases.

But these industrial proposals and their necessary implications must lead Liberals to recognize that a very large abandonment of the old practices of *laissez faire* is inevitable, and that the functions of the State in industry must be enlarged considerably beyond the grudging limits of the ordinary factory laws. For, apart from contemplated cases of nationalization and trust-control, the State is to contribute towards provisions for unemployment, and—a more dubious proposal—towards the present emergency in housing, while compulsory

powers of acquiring land for public utilities are to be demanded for the local government.

With the authors of this programme we hold that most or all of these demands are not merely consistent with, but essential to, the policy of equality of opportunity which gives reality to personal liberty. If they can convince the wavering mind of the public that the Liberal Party, still containing many men of wealth and industrial dominance, is not merely willing but enthusiastic to undertake this great campaign of industrial and financial reconstruction, taxing themselves heavily to pay off war debts, and sharing with the workers the control, and even, in a real sense, the management and profits of those businesses which hitherto they had regarded as exclusively their own, then Liberalism, dead in most Continental countries, can continue here to pursue a useful and an adventurous career. It may live either in friendly rivalry, or in loose, though effective, co-operation with the Labor Party, for breaking reactionary government and working out a comprehensive policy of social-economic reform.

THE NEW BELGIUM.

POLITICAL conditions in Belgium are at the moment extraordinarily complicated, and it must be difficult for the British observer to gauge the significance of the new Cabinet and its composition. Yet the foreign policy of a country like Belgium, reacting as it does on Entente problems, is by no means without interest for the British public.

The advent to power of M. Carton de Wiart, member of the Committee for National Politics (Comité de Politique Nationale), most decidedly means a strengthening of the influence exercised by the aforesaid Committee on the Government, especially on their international politics. This Committee has undoubtedly, amongst its members, many superior men, all, however, recruited from the extremely limited circle (mostly from Brussels) of politicians, journalists, professors, literary men, followers of the free professions, superior officers, with a number of merchant kings and industrial magnates. These provide the Committee with money, which it spends lavishly, and it has a close connection with the daily Press in Belgium, which is nearly exclusively French. In this way the Committee is able to make a brave show of considerable importance, in consequence of which many outsiders do not notice the entire lack of adherents amongst the large masses of the nation.

Nor is the sympathy of the Court foreign to the undeniable influence which these people exercise. They are the standard-bearers of annexation at the expense of Holland, and it was their intrigues which induced the Government, at the eleventh hour, to break off the negotiations with Holland with regard to the revision of the 1839 Treaties. In this way they hoped to get hold of a lever to use in connection with the Treaty with France, which was then in course of preparation and has since been concluded.

These people look to the South. Their aim is to bind Belgium still more firmly to France by means of a naval and economic treaty, in addition to the above-mentioned Military Convention. Every Englishman who pays any attention to happenings on the Western Continent must have noticed that, ever since the Armistice, Belgian politics have meekly followed the French lead. They have become so accustomed to this

in Paris, that a petty incident, like the one about the passage of Polish munitions, exposed the then head of the Government, M. Delacroix, to a sharp rebuke from a high official at the Quai d'Orsay, M. Paléologue.

Not a few, however, in various circles, but more especially amongst the old soldiers, remember with bitterness the days of the war when it was said that they ought to go on fighting because Germany desired to tie Belgium to herself. These old soldiers—and the majority of the Flemish people as well—declare that they will not grant to the South what they then refused (and still now refuse) to suffer from the East. Real independence for Belgium cannot exist within the net of these treaties.

The Committee for National Politics and its partisans have also a Rhine policy, and are inordinately proud of it. In this matter, also, they agree with the groups which at present have the whip hand over France, and pursue a policy which has been formulated as follows: "To surround France by a girdle of neutral States, in theory her *protégés*, in practice her vassals, to serve as a bulwark for her safety, as a vanguard of her influence." For that reason a Rhine Republic must be artificially established. In that manner a second vassal State would be born; the first, Belgium, has already been trained, and performs her task—under the approving eye of the masters in Paris.

An obvious corollary to this policy is the harassing of Great Britain. As the world policy of France and Britain seemed to drift further apart, the attacks on Britain became bolder and more open. On the occasion, first of the Frankfurt expedition, and again of the Polish and Russian troubles, practically the whole of the French-Belgian Press assailed Great Britain.

Of course, one need not imagine that the new Cabinet would at once act freely and frankly on the lines of the Committee for National Policy. The nation will not cheerfully submit to the disastrous consequences of this fatal policy, with its unavoidable trail of crushing military burdens and its final prospect of absorption by the Southern neighbor. This already becomes evident from the fact that M. Carton de Wiart saw himself compelled to entrust the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to M. Jaspar, notwithstanding a furious

campaign on the part of the Francophile Press, who denounced this statesman as a Gallophobe and a tool in Mr. Lloyd George's hands. M. Jaspar, as a matter of fact, is one of those men who are fully aware of the fact that Belgium can only retain a certain measure of real independence if she keeps her equilibrium between the neighboring powers. His appointment proves that it is necessary to take into account other opinions besides those of the Committee for National Policy alone. In the first place there are the Socialists, although a number of Walloons amongst them incline towards France, and perhaps, in their heart of hearts, ask nothing better than to be incorporated in that country.

But above all there is the Flemish land. Flanders with her 4.5 million inhabitants, forms a considerable majority among the Belgians—Flanders, who supplied more than 80 per cent. of the army on the Yser, but who, in consequence of one of the most tragic frustrations history has ever witnessed, lies paralyzed and nearly powerless to make her full influence felt. To the people of Flanders, France is, if not the enemy of centuries, at any rate the permanent and ever-threatening danger which jeopardizes the purity of their culture, and with it their entire existence as an independent community. French influence is artificially and persistently encouraged. In these times it is supported by a multifarious propaganda, of which neither the foreigner nor the man in the street fathoms the intensity and diversity. This French influence succeeded in Frenchifying nearly the whole of the civilized classes in Flanders to such an extent that all expression of civilized thought by means of the native Netherland tongue had practically vanished, thereby rendering the uplifting influence of the higher classes on the lower impossible.

The Flemish people has for years been fighting for its emancipation. It is an arduous, mortifying struggle against the spirit of centralization aiming at uniformity by Frenchifying the people. In opposition to this the Flemish desire to establish the Belgian State on a solid basis of concord between the two composing nationalities.

The Flemish movement has many and—this is a deplorable fact—frequently mutually contending schools of thought, but they all, without exception, agree that they must look to Great Britain for support against the peril from the South, for Britain, owing to unchanging circumstances, is the only Power who cannot possibly profit by any infringement of our independence. It is generally well understood in Flanders that annexation and absorption is always to be feared from a powerful France or a powerful Germany, but that British interests are best served if the North Sea Coast and Antwerp's harbor do not belong to either of these Powers, but to a friendly, small State. Not merely sentimental reasons but also sound self-interest inclines Flemish policy towards Great Britain, and causes it to desire closer and more friendly relations with the great protecting Power.

It cannot but cause surprise that, notwithstanding this attitude of mind on the part of the Flemish people, a seat in a Cabinet like M. Carton de Wiart's was accepted by M. Van de Vijvere, a representative of the Flemish Catholics, the strongest faction in the Chamber. This seems all the stranger because a short time ago another member of the same faction, M. Poulet, a member of the former Cabinet, uttered what may correctly be described as a veto on the premiership of M. Carton de Wiart. In order to understand the capitulation of the Flemish Catholics, as implied in the acceptance of a seat in the new Cabinet, one ought to know that this group has definitely limited its aims, or

at least its officially known programme. As in pre-war times, the objects of this group are the changing of the Ghent University into a Flemish Institution, dividing the Army into Walloon and Flemish units, and further, the passing of bills regulating the use of the two languages by the administration, the law courts, and in the schools. They desire to obtain these reforms from the Belgian Parliament, and to see them carried out by the Belgian State organism. But they do not attack the unity of the State.

In opposition to this group is a younger school of the Flemish movement, which will only be satisfied by reforming the Belgian State in such a manner that its two-fold composition is reflected in separate institutions for Flanders and Wallonia. This, they assert, is the natural solution resulting from the nature of things. A struggle, lasting for over eighty years, has shown that in the Belgian Chamber Walloons and Frenchified Flemish reject laws which are desired for Flanders by an overwhelming majority of the Flemings themselves.

The more radical Flemish are therefore advocating a system by means of which Flanders and Wallonia would each obtain autonomy within the Belgian body politic. The group embodying this idea is called the Front Party, because its nucleus is formed out of old Flemish soldiers.

This current is daily gathering strength. The Catholic youth and the students are especially affected by it. The Minimalists, as those of the older school, the adherents of the Catholic "Vlaamsch Verbond," are generally called, are thoroughly conscious of the fact that only one way remains open to them by means of which they can re-establish the unstable confidence of their followers. They must, without delay, obtain important reforms, and thereby create the impression that their moderate attitude is more fruitful than the endeavors of the so-called "extremists." A bill regulating the use of the two languages by the authorities is now before the Senate, and is expected to produce the desired effect. Lack of space prevents me from analyzing it here. It is neither perfectly satisfactory nor entirely valueless. It would require considerable exertion on the part of the authorities, were it thoroughly applied, but little can be expected from its application as it lacks all penal sanction. But, inadequate as it is, it raised a storm in Walloon and Frenchified circles, and it is obvious that it will not obtain a majority in the Senate. The Chamber passed the bill with a considerable majority, but it is not at all certain—and even very doubtful—whether the Chamber would insist on its passing in face of opposition by the Senate.

It would be a disaster, an admission of inefficiency of methods, and of futility of principles, were the Catholic Flemish Group forced to meet the electorate without having obtained this first reform. Failure would be heavily paid for in loss of votes for themselves and gains for the Radical movement.

They are, of course, anxious to avert this disaster, and M. Van de Vijvere would not have found the young element in his group so pliable if he had not been able to pledge the support of the Government for the bill. As a matter of fact, at the time of writing, M. Carton de Wiart has made his ministerial statement, in which he declared that the bill has the Government's support. I have been assured that the Cabinet will stake its life on the question, but one must see that before one can believe it. A fiasco in this matter, however, would be practically certain to result in splitting the great Catholic party in twain, into a Walloon and a Flemish group. As M. Van de Vijvere is not only a member of the Flemish group, but also Chairman of the

whole Catholic party, one may safely assume that he will do his utmost to avoid this.

The course that events may take in this matter will undoubtedly react powerfully on the general elections which are to be held in 1921. In the meantime it is growing daily more certain that on that occasion the Flemish population will express itself clearly. It becomes ever more conscious of itself and its rights, and the coming elections will produce an entire change, not only in the language policy and the attitude towards the awakening Flemish nationalism, but in the whole range of internal and external policy.

H. BORGINON

(Member of the Belgian Chamber).

Brussels. November 27th, 1920.

Life and Letters.

THE GREATEST BRITISH DEFEAT.

IN six days in the end of March, nearly three years ago, the British Army suffered the greatest defeat in our history. One who was in it has described it as "perhaps the mightiest, most overwhelming assault in military history." Compared with that affair, Saratoga and Yorktown were but skirmishes, and even the retreat from Mons of the "Old Contemptibles" negligible. British guns were lost, not by hundreds, but by thousands. British casualties were numbered, not by thousands, but by tens of thousands. The losses of stores and equipment were measured, not by tens of thousands, but by millions of pounds. It is true that although there was a military defeat, there was no military decision. The resistance of the retreating soldiers, and the arrival of ample, if tardy, reinforcement, prevented the realization of the German plan of striking through Amiens to Abbeville and the sea, and thus dividing the forces of the Allies. And thus the disaster of the spring was half forgotten in the triumph of the autumn, in which the German Army and nation collapsed before a succession of sensational victories. The defeat of our 5th Army was then forgotten. Students of history, therefore, will be less interested in the discussion of the factors that made possible the breaking of the British line than in other military problems less dramatic in themselves, but more far-reaching in consequence. If d'Erlon's corps had been thrown either into Quatre-Bras or Ligny, instead of marching between the two battlefields, Napoleon would have won the Belgian campaign, and the history of the world might have been changed. And even in lesser matters, history will always be discussing what might have happened if Napoleon had flung in the Guard at Borodino, or if Jackson had arrived at mid-day instead of sunset at Gaines Mill, or Macmahon not been wounded early on the day of Sedan. So in the future those interested in the military tactics of half-forgotten wars will be discussing the policy which led to the shattering of the 3rd British Army and the practical destruction of the 5th in something like a week of desperate struggle.

Few authorities have attempted any detailed description of that struggle. The war historians have mostly avoided it, preferring to concentrate their attention on the last four months of victory rather than on the preceding disaster. Some of those who were in it throughout, notably "Quex" of the Artillery, and the author of "The Squadron" in the Cavalry, have given fascinating accounts of particular units. But we have had to wait for the industrious and detailed investi-

gation of Mr. Shaw Sparrow in "The Fifth Army in March, 1918" (John Lane), for anything like a complete account of that tragic downfall. Mr. Shaw Sparrow's record is a joy to all who have studied military history. It is lighted, as all military history should be, with an abundance of maps. It deals with the general increasing chaos in the course of battle. It provides personal stories of resistance and heroism which give human interest to what might otherwise appear a record of the movements of ants or flies. It is acutely controversial, defying alike the despatches of G.H.Q. in France, the assertions of the politicians, and the *camouflage* of the newspaper correspondents. It is deliberately a defence of the 5th Army and its commander, a commander who was removed without inquiry or court-martial, and an Army which was supposed to have broken, and which lay for many months under the stigma of having too weakly resisted or too readily surrendered. It is difficult to see how those who long cherished the opposite view can resist this detailed and documented investigation.

Two points stand out triumphantly. One is the falsehoods, promoted especially by the politicians, some of which are believed to this day. The other is the heroism with which the soldiers of the fighting units, officers and men alike, resisted and died. Of the fables it may be said that hardly one set out in official despatches, by correspondents, or in the House of Commons, bore the slightest resemblance to the truth. It was stated that General Gough took over from the French a sector which had not been prepared for adequate defence. The preparations were as good as on any other part of the line. But Gough had to stretch his eleven divisions along forty miles against an attack of over forty German divisions. "The whole defensive scheme," says the author, "very ample and cautious, was copied from German principles and precedents." And by March 21st the battle zone in most sectors was destroyed. It was said that a German attack was not expected at that particular time and place and with that particular force. British Headquarters and the British Government knew the exact hour and day on which the attack was planned; and they knew the force with which Hutier, the victor of Riga, was entrusted to break through from St. Quentin to the sea. It was said that the Germans were aided by an unexpected drought by which the Upper Oise was partially dried up and the marshes made into solid ground. But this was known from December onwards to the army commanders, and there was nothing unexpected about it at all. It was said that the Germans were aided in their advance by three days of fog. But Mr. Sparrow has no difficulty in showing the truth of Ludendorff's complaint that after the first few hours of frontal attack, the fog was enormously in favor of the retreating army, and can print a letter of General Gough affirming this fact. It was said again, for the consolation of our people at home, that the German losses were enormously greater than our own; pictures were given of our men killing twenty of the enemy for every British casualty. Mr. Sparrow boldly asserts that their losses were not half so great as our propagandists declared, and that in this as in "every period of the war, the Allied casualties were too high, too extravagant, while the Germans' were not." And practically every other contemporary assertion receives a similar refutation. The Germans were pictured as being merely mechanically drilled, and coming on with no heart or hope in their cause. But one of Ludendorff's complaints is that they persisted in singing the songs of the Fatherland when it was desirable that they should keep silent in order to avoid observation. So far from

advancing in massed column, they had been taught all the winter "open-formation" and "swift initiative." And the evidence of British prisoners provides the highest possible tribute to the result of this training, by which little groups of combatants in the "filtering system" worked through the British line and found themselves across the track of the British retreat. There was no divisional "leap-frogging" as was so graphically described by our newspapers. It was Ludendorff's first line which had to thrust forward regardless of hunger and fatigue against our own hard-pressed but still defiant resistance. The explanations offered by the politicians remain for the consideration of history. If Mr. Lloyd George had even commenced to give the facts in the so-called Maurice debate in Parliament, his Government could not have lasted for twenty-four hours. His misleading statistics concerning bayonet strength, his retaining of 150,000 white troops in the East, and an indefinite number in "Norfolk and Ireland" which were sent out after instead of before the disaster, the knowledge conveyed to him by every expert that this disaster was inevitable unless something was done to avert it, and his blind belief that neither line could be broken on the Western front, nearly brought the British Empire to the ground. These facts have passed from political polemic into the region of history, to be judged by the truth which "forgives no insult and endures no stain." What is more curious is the extraordinary difference between the contemporary German accounts of the battle as recorded in Mr. Sparrow's pages and those of our own popular Press. The German papers are never tired of explaining what a magnificent defence was put up by their opponents; how in places they fought to the last man; how they would die sooner than surrender. The English papers were informing our public that the Germans were a set of half-doped cowards shambling into battle, driven on from behind by their officers, surrendering with alacrity, and with no belief in the rightness of their cause. In this six days of desperate combat, ten British prisoners were taken for every one German. Each side possessed, as all national armies possess, the consistently heroic, the occasionally heroic, the man who was afraid, the man who was afraid to be afraid. But it is curious that one side should emphasize the strength and the other the weakness of its opponents. Certainly our correspondents did little honor to an army which could be defeated by such contemptible foes. It may be that the German method was stimulated by the fact, confided by a British private to a great newspaper editor, "You see sir, they're not a military nation like we are."

Of individual stories of resistance at the ultimate hour, this author provides examples which cannot be read without emotion and pride. There are the Second Munsters at Epéhy, surrounded on every side by Germans, and literally holding their fort and trench until the last cartridge is exhausted. Those who have survived are now probably being hunted by Sir Hamar Greenwood and his Black-and-Tans. There are the Sixteenth Manchesters calmly supporting the declaration of their Colonel killed in the final assault: "Here we fight and here we die." There are individual examples on both sides of a spirit defying death. Major Ormiston, lying out in the open and refusing aid. "I am dying," he said, "and shall be dead in an hour or so. It would be quite a waste of time to get me in." And a German officer, after the Canadian cavalry charge in Moreul Wood, "in which all the enemy were killed because all refused to surrender," shot through both legs and the stomach, who refused to allow the stretcher-bearers to move him, saying "he would sooner die uncaptured." There are amazing individual experiences, in the fog,

darkness, and confusion. One captured British officer, sent to the rear with two German guards, lurches both of them suddenly into a shell-hole, and escapes unharmed from their revolvers. On the other hand a group of British Tommies exhibit a pathetic inheritance of feudal tradition; being set, as prisoners, to bring ammunition to the German front line. "When one was asked how he escaped, he said that a shell killed *the man in charge of the party*, and he got away. '*The man in charge*,' repeated the colonel, with scorn; 'he spoke as if the Bosche N.C.O. was a sort of foreman, and as if bringing up ammunition, which was to be shot at your own countrymen, was the most ordinary thing in the world.' " The story of the defence before Rancourt, of the five hundred survivors of the South Africans, is a story equal to the record of Thermopylae. For three days they had been continuously fighting without any hot food or drink, without sleep, and "in fighting, sweat and thirst had collected fog, dust, gas, and shell fumes," until they turned, with bodies exhausted, but minds defiant, to defend a crucial point against an overwhelming German onslaught. They were nearly all destroyed. In the front trench only two men were left alive, Father Hill, and a private, who was a linen-draper by trade. "I have been praying here for the last four hours," said the linen-draper at the end. "Then you have beaten me at it," Father Hill answered. So the men of the 5th Army, left to their fate by politicians who thought trench lines were impenetrable, saved the honor of their country, and were vilified.

THE POEM ON JOB.

No one likes to have the Bible interfered with. The whole of it, without exception or distinction, has been accepted by long generations of Christian peoples as in a special sense the Word of God. Old Testament and New have been so accepted, regardless of contradictions, historical difficulties, and dubious moral teaching, such as Joshua's pitiless atrocities. The scenes and stories and poetry of the various Books have formed the subject of most European art in stone-work and painting for many centuries, and the whole thought of European nations has been guided by their influence. Even the English translation has come to be venerated in this country as sacred, as though the translators under James I. had been inspired, as in a sense they were. To hint at mistakes or mistranslations seemed almost impious. Were there confusions? No one noticed them. Were some passages incomprehensible? That did not matter, seeing that they were divine. Substance and language have become interwoven with the life and speech of all the people. Not Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, and Tennyson (the poets who have given the most phrases and quotations to the language)—not all four of them together have supplied anything like the number of phrases and quotations that we get from the Bible. Its words do not "flit through the mouths of men"; they abide there; they are always present. They are so familiar that when we hear the smallest change in them we are startled, as by the shock of an accident upon a well-trodden road. To listen even to the Revised Version read aloud causes a series of uncomfortable irritations, such as a scholar feels at a false quantity in classic verse.

Of course, there is a bad side to this familiarity. Use and wont dull us to many beauties and meanings. An educated man of forty who had never heard of the Bible (if we could imagine such a person) would certainly discover beauties and meanings in it that are hidden from

our eyes, simply because custom has blinded us. He would also find all manner of contradictions and obscurities which we drive over unnoticed because we have so often been driven over them from childhood up. And when he took the trouble to point them out, no matter how clear and conclusive his criticism might be, we should feel uncomfortable and irritated, as people do feel when the habits of a lifetime are disturbed. Many in England who still have the noble language of our version thundering or singing or crying in their hearts, would also feel shocked and scandalized as at a blasphemy.

But we must suffer it to be so now, for criticism has laid hold on the Bible as on all other literature. The change has been rapid. Many still living, and not even old, can remember the Sunday when an English Bishop was forbidden to preach in Oxford because he did not accept the first chapter of Genesis as literal history, or agree that the world was created out of chaos in the year 4004 B.C. In less than fifty years such exclusion has already become incredible. Think of what the congregations in Westminster Abbey have heard from a Canon of the Abbey on Sunday afternoons this month! It is no longer possible to reserve the Bible as a whole, or any single part of it, from the criticism that philology, history, comparative theology, geology, biology, or any other of the sciences may bring to bear upon it. Nor, we think, would the most genuinely religious or Christian people desire any such restraint. At the worst it is better to live in the truth than in a Fool's Paradise. "The Truth though it blast me!" cried Carlyle's stout-hearted hero.

In a new volume called "The Book of Job; its Origin, Growth, and Interpretation, together with a New Translation based on a Revised Text" (Lippincott), Dr. Morris Jastrow, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, writes an apology to those who had accepted that sublime book as it stood, contradictions, mistranslations, incomprehensible passages and all:—

"It is not a pleasant task for the critic thus to hold up as erroneous passages in the original book which have not only made their way into the Church and Synagogue service, but which by their beauty and impressiveness have been a source of consolation to countless myriads these two millenniums, sustaining them in sorrow, and helping them to bear the ills and burdens of life. The critic must forego popularity. . . . He must console himself by the deeper penetration that he gains into the spirit of Biblical literature, and the clearer view of the evolution of religious thought and practice among the Hebrews from lowly beginnings to an advanced stage—a stage higher than that reached by any other people of antiquity, and which culminated in a temporary climax in the commingling of Hebrew and Greek spirituality in early Christianity."

Most of us had accepted the Book of Job as the finest, the most complete, and perhaps even the oldest poem in the Bible. Some critics had even called it a drama, and had compared it with the Greek tragedies. We were carried away by the splendor of its language and the profundity of its thought. We knew—anyone who reads it carefully must perceive—that it contained many contradictions, many incomprehensible passages. We could see that the arrangement of certain chapters had gone wrong; that Elihu's speech was obviously an interpolation; that the superb poems towards the end upon the glories and powers of nature—the stars and wild animals and birds—were in reality no answer to the despairing questions of Job upon the righteous man's suffering and the wicked man's prosperity. We felt, perhaps, that there was something rather harsh and callous in the story of the Lord's wager with Satan about the patience of Job; something rather primitive or commonplace in the final scene of Job's recovered

happiness and wealth—too much like the material comforts and rewards for which starved and wretched mortals habitually pray. But still, blinded and soothed by long habit, by reverence, by ignorance of the original text, and by the sheer beauty of our version's language, we took the poem as a whole, and as the finest example of imaginative literature that Hebrew genius had created. But now Dr. Jastrow comes to show that, like other great literature produced before the general practice of writing, the poem was not the work of one mind, but grew up gradually into its present form, being composed of at least three separate pieces (he calls them "strata") rather loosely and inconsequently jointed together. And, indeed, after reading his commentary, one may detect five such pieces.

There was first the original "folktale" of indefinite age, telling the simple story of a just man Job fallen upon evil days, and visited by three friends, who had the good sense to sit beside him in perfect silence for seven days and seven nights. To this original tale belongs the passage in the last chapter describing Job's restoration to prosperity. Into this tale was inserted the remarkable scene in heaven when Satan appeared among the sons of God; and perhaps to the same time belongs the main theme of the book as it stands—the rebellious outburst of Job against the injustice of life and the cruelty of his sufferings; the dubious consolations of his Comforters, consisting chiefly of undeserved reproaches and false accusations; and the answers of Job, which only restate the eternal questionings of man's destiny, and provide no solution, no assured explanation that will lighten the darkness of mankind's despair. To orthodox Hebrews the despair of such a conclusion to the poem may have appeared so heartrending, or perhaps so blasphemous, that some other poet added, or rather threw in, the noble passage upon Wisdom (in chapter xxviii.), and the speeches of Elihu, who then appears for the first time upon the scene. Finally was added the great nature poem with which the Lord himself makes answer, affording, it is true, no solution to the original perplexity of man's unhappiness, but turning the soul's contemplation away from personal and individual miseries to the mysteries of creation and the grandeur of the visible world as it is revealed to science, and even to unscientific men.

Much is lost. The poem loses its unity, just as the Homeric poems have lost unity under criticism. But the unity was never really there, and to a careful reader the pretence of unity was only puzzling. And much is gained, for under these divisions and analyses the poem becomes at least comprehensible. The supposed date is changed. Dr. Jastrow puts the composition of the main poem, apart from the folktale, not earlier than the fifth century—after the return from the Exile, and about the same time that the genius of Athens was at its height. It was a time when the God of the Hebrews (for whom he uses the word Yahweh) was beginning to assume for them rather a personal than a merely tribal relation, and that is a point of high significance in theological growth. As to the new translation, we wish we had space to illustrate it by parallel passages from the familiar version. Most of the finest verses remain, at least in sense. That superb Third Chapter—the finest passage in all the book, and one of the finest in the English language—remains unaltered in sense, though the words often come like shocks to those who know the old rendering by heart:—

"Why did I not die at the womb, come forth from the lap and perish?" So one of the best known passages runs; "Why did knees receive me? And why were there breasts to give me suck? For now I would quietly be in

repose; There would be sleep and rest for me; With the kings and counsellors of the earth, Who build themselves mausoleums; Or with the merchant princes, Who fill their houses with silver; Or like a buried foetus, I would never have been; Like babes that have never seen the light. There where the toilers cease from care, And the workers are at rest."

Dr. Jastrow apologizes for spoiling the familiar beauty of our translation in the last two lines, but there is no help. Many other familiar phrases have to go:—"Skin for skin" becomes "There is a skin beneath the skin"; "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in Him" becomes "Aye, though He slay me, I tremble not." The famous passage in *xix.*, 23-26 becomes: "Oh that my words could be inscribed, graven for all times in the rock, then I would know that my defender will arise, Even though he arise in the distant future. Only under my skin is this indited, And within my flesh do I see these words." So also, "Oh that mine adversary had written a book," has to go, and we deeply regret it. The thunder that clothed the horse's neck has to go, and the leviathan is transformed and diminished into a common crocodile. But "No doubt but you are the people, And with you wisdom will die" still remains to comfort us in the presence of superior persons, and still we may read, "When the morning stars sang together, And all the Sons of God shouted for joy."

Music.

THE RHYTHMICAL ELEMENT IN MUSIC.

SOME little time ago, in a letter to THE NATION, Mr. R. H. Myers challenged the propriety of some criticisms that were made in an article of mine dealing with the music of Stravinsky. Personal differences of opinion that may exist between Mr. Myers and myself, or between any other pair of critics, are not of public interest (this news will come as a surprise to some of our colleagues), but this particular difference, as far as I could judge, was not merely one of outlook or temperament, but of definition. We did not seem to agree as to the meaning of the term Rhythm. Some explanation would in any case have been advisable, and now, as though to force me into the open, comes along M. Jaques-Dalcroze (Chatto & Windus) with a book entitled "Rhythm, Music, and Education," in which he propounds (*inter alia*) a theory of rhythm that may, or may not, commend itself to Mr. Myers, but most certainly does not commend itself to me. The question is one of such importance for criticism that I am going to try and make clear to these gentlemen, and to anyone else whom it may interest, the view that I believe to be right.

M. Dalcroze maintains (1) that rhythm is movement; (2) that rhythm is essentially physical. He defines it briefly (p. 40) as "the reflex of instinctive corporal movements." This definition is wholly inadequate, because it ignores so many of the term's most vital implications. Do we not speak of the rhythm of a picture? Is York Minster not rhythmical? Yet in these is there no movement; nevertheless in speaking of them as "rhythmical" we are not merely plying a metaphor. Rhythm, in fact, is far more universal, more vitally pervasive and significant, than M. Dalcroze would have us believe. To define it, we have to find a formula that will meet all cases. It is not enough for a musician to say that rhythm is movement, or for an artist to say that rhythm is grouping. You have to reduce these terms to a common denominator, to find a common principle which actuates equally the grouping in a picture and the progression of sounds in a poem or a piece of music. And that principle is, briefly, the need of coherence. An essential feature in artistic appreciation (as distinct from sensuous or emotional debauch) is intellectual contentment; the mind insists on being satisfied that the parts

are co-ordinate with one another and subordinate to the whole. It is the function of rhythm to achieve this co-ordination, and hence we find M. Vincent d'Indy boldly saying, at the outset of his "Cours de Composition Musicale," that rhythm is "l'Ordre et la Proportion dans l'Espace et dans le Temps." He is perfectly right; no other definition will serve, for no other is wide enough.

The application of this principle in music can be observed in the very smallest rhythmic units. A single note cannot be a rhythmic unit, but you may have a unit of two notes. Why? Simply because one of them can be made more important than the other by means of an accent. If one of them is longer than the other it has already by position an agogic accent, or accent of duration; if the two notes are of equal value, one of them may receive a dynamic accent, or accent of stress. And, of course, an accent of duration may coincide with, and be reinforced by, an accent of stress. In each of these ways a centre of interest, as it were, is created; the two components are felt to stand in intelligible relation to one another, and the phrase acquires a real organic unity, though on the smallest possible scale. Extend the phrase, add other phrases to it, till the whole is amplified into a musical sentence, and then into a canto or paragraph, and the same principle holds good. The notes of which the sentence or paragraph is composed fall naturally into groups clustering round a nucleus, or accented note, to which some of them lead up and from which others lead away. And as with the individual notes, so with the groups themselves; they are not equally important; in every phrase, perhaps, and certainly in every sentence, there is a point of climax or culmination, which coincides with the accentual climax of one particular group. That group is thus felt to be the centre to which the neighboring groups are attached, and this group-nucleus in turn is revealed either as the climacteric of its own musical section, or as subordinate to a neighboring group-centre of greater amplitude or more significant intensity. Thus there is a continual widening of the circle until rhythm becomes ultimately coincident with form or design. Form in music is still too commonly identified with pattern, to which, as a matter of fact, it stands in much the same relation as rhythm (in the narrower sense of the term) stands to metre. Pattern is merely a super-imposition; Schubert has shown us over and over again that you can have pattern without form, just as Beethoven (in the posthumous quartets) and Debussy (in "l'Après-Midi") have shown us that a perfectly satisfying and organic structural unity can be achieved without any set formalities or arrangement. So long as each section of the work arises naturally from what has gone before, and leads naturally to what follows, so long as the points of climax and the points of repose are felt as inevitable and proper reactions from one another, so that each is perceived to have been an essential element of a carefully planned whole, in which all seeming contradictions are ultimately reconciled—so long as the listener is convinced in this manner, it matters not one straw whether the themes have been presented in any traditional order or not; the sense of form has been satisfied. This is achieved by rhythm in the wider sense of the term, and it is this kind of rhythmic balance (I turn to Mr. Myers) that I do not find in Stravinsky. He is at once too wilful, too capricious, and too orgiastic, to attain any such coherence. And there, for the moment, we must leave him, and turn back to M. Dalcroze.

The metric tradition in music, says M. Dalcroze, "kills every spontaneous agogic impulse. . . . The composer who is obliged to bend his inspiration to the inflexible laws of symmetry in time lengths comes gradually to modify his instinctive rhythms, with a view to unity of measure, and finishes by conceiving only rhythms of a conventional time-pattern." This is undoubtedly true; in his diagnosis of our present ills, M. Dalcroze will find none to question him—except, perhaps, Professor Saintsbury, who still maintains, with perfect urbanity and evident conviction, that rhythm and metre are the same thing. It is when he attempts to lead us back, and to retrace the steps that have landed us in our pickle, that M. Dalcroze shows himself a blind guide,

and, indeed, betrays a quite remarkable aptitude for misreading history. He states his own case as follows:—

"All the rhythmic elements in music were originally formed after the rhythms of the human body; but in course of time the types and their combinations were varied and multiplied to the point of spiritualizing music, and their muscular origin was eventually lost sight of. The body became unaccustomed to them in proportion as the preponderance of purely intellectual education increased; and so it has come about that the majority of rhythmic models taken from modern music, even ballet music, are no longer capable of interpretation by the body. . . . The composer of ballet music, for his part, has only intellectual rhythms at his disposal, and these are likewise automatized to such a pitch that he cannot interrupt a development of a purely musical character in his score in favor of *spontaneous rhythms of a corporal origin*."

The italics are ours. M. Dalcroze has apparently convinced himself that the body is the source of all that is artistic and spontaneous, the mind of all that is dull and mechanical, and to convince others he has inserted those two apparently innocent little words "and so."

What was it that really happened? In the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (and at no subsequent period) rhythm and metre went amicably in harness together, just as they did (and still do) in poetry. The rhythm of the individual voices was perfectly free, the composer placed his accents where and how he would, being only careful to preserve the free natural accentuation of the spoken word. And at the same time there was a perfect understanding of metrical propriety and a strict observance of metrical law. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century (or thereabouts) there came a change. The bar line was introduced to show the incidence of the metric beats, and this bar line, at first merely a useful instrument, soon became a tyrant of the most domineering order. Rhythmical accents could only come where he pointed the way; rhythm degenerated into a mere variety of rhythmical figure in between mechanically recurring accents. When Beethoven wants to displace an accent he has to do so by means of a violent *sforzando*, in which there is much force of will, but no subtlety. And the cause of this change? Simply that music had meantime adopted, or rather been adopted by, the measures of the dance. Instead of writing motets and madrigals and "Little Short Aers," composers wrote jigs and sarabandes and minuets. The whole of the rhythmical degeneration and metrical slavery which M. Dalcroze so properly bewails is really a triumph of the body over the mind. The body has not the slightest sense of artistic values; all it craves is a regular and clearly marked accent to which it can sway in time. So that when M. Dalcroze complains that a composer of ballet music has only "intellectual" rhythms at his disposal, he means "physical and non-intellectual"; when he sighs for "spontaneous rhythms of a corporal origin," he means "of a spiritual origin." Every detail of his own system shows how the crudities of bodily gesture are tempered and subtilized by the influence of the mind; the results achieved by that system are of great artistic value—and yet, when he tries to show us how and why it is all done, he falls into these strange psychological errors and historical confusions. It is most curious; it does not, however, affect in the smallest degree our appreciation of what M. Dalcroze has done, and is doing, in the cause of education—nor, one might add, of his most attractive personality.

R. O. MORRIS.

Letters to the Editor.

THE IRISH DIVISIONS IN THE WAR.

SIR,—Major de Montmorency's letter covers a good many points. If he had read my article more carefully he would see that I said about the Volunteers in the early weeks of the war that they were eager to take part in a scheme of defence (nothing in his letter throws doubt on that statement), and that when Redmond went further and

offered help overseas, the majority supported him and only a small minority seceded: that statement is not questioned. As to enlistment, by October, 1915, the National Volunteers who received no favors had sent as many recruits to the army as the Ulster Volunteers who had received generous encouragement from the authorities. The whole story, which explains the deficiencies that Major de Montmorency describes, is told with great restraint and judicial care by Captain Stephen Gwynn in his admirable book on "John Redmond's Last Years," and Major de Montmorency could not do better than read it.

His criticisms of the Catholic officers I leave to those who served with Catholic officers: the same kind of complaint was made about some young officers in British divisions, but it would be ridiculous to base a general indictment on such cases; it seems odd that Catholics who from the time of the Duke of Wellington's armies have served with such distinction in British wars should have completely changed their character when associated with Major de Montmorency.

Major de Montmorency thinks I take too glowing a view of Ireland's future when she becomes a free people. I have no wild optimism. I hope she may succeed in producing a better political system and more honest politicians than those with which we afflict ourselves, but do not count on it. Only I do not think Irish politicians will be allowed to burn Irish towns and Irish villages, to put county after county under court martial justice, to employ as policemen men who murder and burn at pleasure, and generally to treat their own country as Germany treated Belgium. In fact, I believe that so much of the City of Cork as has been left standing by the system of government that Major de Montmorency admires will still survive under the system he dreads.—Yours, &c.,

J. L. HAMMOND.

SIR,—I ask your permission to make a few brief comments on Major de Montmorency's amazing letter under the caption "The Irish Divisions in the War." He professes "to refute some of Mr. Hammond's misstatements," and attempts to achieve his purpose by adducing not one single verified or verifiable fact inconsistent with Mr. Hammond's statements of fact or opinion, and seeks to impose upon your readers, in lieu of such facts, a splenetic outburst of his individual personal impressions.

It appears that Major de Montmorency found the admittedly untrained Wicklow Volunteers to be, in fact, untrained, and consequently lacking in discipline and efficiency. It appears, further, that his exhortations to them to volunteer to fight Germany left them cold—a fact which will cause no excessive surprise if his speeches had much of the quality of his letter. But he omits to mention the material fact that during practically the whole of the brief period of his exhortations the burning questions of direct recruiting or of an official adoption of the Volunteers were still under discussion with the War Office and the Cabinet, and that his audience was probably perfectly well aware that his action was not in accordance with the orders, wishes, or policy of their trusted leaders, whose delegated authority was Major de Montmorency's sole claim to a hearing. So much for the refutation on that point.

Major de Montmorency then endeavors to explain away the known and oft-time recorded facts about the official reluctance to grant commissions to Roman Catholics. He says: "The truth is that it was quite impossible to find men amongst them who were fitted, by character and education, to lead men; it would have been a crime to send soldiers into action led by such inherently incompetent officers." This assertion is unsupported by any confirmatory evidence of any description, and is inconsistent with the known facts. He continues: "They"—i.e., the young Roman Catholic Irishmen—"were consumed with vanity, idle, dirty, and ignorant." For the sake of many valued comrades with whom I trained and served, I brand this crude abuse as a silly and offensive slander. Better fighters, keener soldiers, or more chivalrous comrades no man could ask for—and my testimony is that of a Protestant who served throughout in an Irish Catholic regiment.

Your readers will note that for two whole years Major de Montmorency was "a keen, enthusiastic believer in Irish

Nationalism," and that that period coincided with the summertime of Irish Nationalist hopes when it appeared to be about to reap the fruits of an assured success. In these darker days, when hardship is the lot of Irish Nationalism, Major de Montmorency finds himself precluded by his newer keen and enthusiastic beliefs from sharing it with us. Irish Nationalism can at least console itself for this loss by the reflection that however vividly Major de Montmorency's keen enthusiasms may vary in the future, it can never be expected to endure his friendship again.—Yours, &c.,

HENRY HARRISON.

15, Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead.
January 22nd, 1921.

SIR,—It is possible that many readers of the letter from Major de Montmorency, which appeared in your issue of the 22nd inst., may fail to realize that he has no experience of service with an Irish Division in the field. The dates quoted by him make apparent the fact that his experience of the 10th and 16th Divisions was gained at home.

Had he gone (as I did) to Gallipoli with the 10th Irish Division, he would have found therein Irish Catholic officers whose courage and zeal were unsurpassable, who devoted themselves unceasingly to the welfare of their men, and who earned the respect and confidence of their superior officers. Many of them are dead now. But he will find that the first to resent his slanders are their comrades of other creeds.

Apparently his experiences in Ireland have converted him to Unionism. I and many other Irish officers found, when faced by the enemy, an inspiration to look on Irish affairs in a new light, and this inspiration was mainly drawn from personal experience of the valor and the kindness of our countrymen. We regretted past differences: we now pray that they may not be perpetuated.—Yours, &c.,

BRYAN COOPER,

Late Major, 5th (Service) Battalion,
The Connaught Rangers.

Markree Castle, Collooney, Ireland.
January 23rd, 1921.

SIR,—With regard to the letters on this subject in your current issue, may I say that when I was in New York in March, 1919, I heard a brilliant speech by Mr. Francis Hackett, of the "New Republic," in which he declared that Ireland had sent more men to the war, in proportion to her population, than Australia?—Yours, &c.,

F. A. A.

FIUME.

SIR,—I am at a loss to understand the purport of such an article as appeared on "Fiume" in your first issue in 1921.

Here is a man who in political principles and actions is opposed to every principle you ever professed, and to every action you ever approved of. Between Italy and Yugo-Slavia, two nations willing to make a compromise, that man appealed to the passions of nineteenth-century nationalist idealism, to the businesslike greed of professional soldiers who "definitely prefer war to peace," and to silly boys running away from home. I should have thought THE NATION—or, for that matter, anybody to whom space is allotted in THE NATION—would be the last to favor such a man. But no! He is "the idol of young Italy . . . when he rides out Croats strew the ground with flowers . . . through his discourse ran a thread of eloquence and fascination."

Now, sir, allow me to tell you that your correspondent omitted a point essential to the understanding of the D'Annunzian problem, and most illuminating withal. I, too, am a somewhat Yugo-Slav young man, as your correspondent "O. S." would say with his fine sense of humor, since I am a formerly Hungarian, now Yugo-Slav subject; but I am writing as a former student of an English University, and a sympathetic reader of THE NATION for many years, so I may speak with no more prejudice than "O. S." The point I wish to put before my fellow-readers is this:—

Owing to the impossibility of getting our goods *via* Fiume, our natural port, every shillingworth of every imported article costs us a few pence more. To my mind,

this ought to go further than right of landscape—a novel argument! And it should have been mentioned.—Yours, &c.,

J. S. KOMOR.

Subotica, Yugo-Slavia. January 15th, 1921.

VIENNA RELIEF FUND.		£	s.	d.
Amount already acknowledged in THE NATION		1,560	16	2
H. B. T.			2	10 0
Collected by the Bairs of Tain, Ross-shire, by				
Carolling on Christmas Eve			18	3
		£1,564	4	5

Poetry.

THE WATERMILL.

I'LL rise at midnight and I'll rove
Up the hill and down the drove
That leads to the old unnoticed mill,
And think of one I used to love:
There stooping to the hunching wall
I'll stare into the rush of stars
Or bubbles that the waterfall
Brings forth and breaks in ceaseless wars.

The shelving hills have made a fourm
Where the mill holdings shelter warm,
And here I came with one I loved
To watch the seething millions swarm.
But long ago she grew a ghost
Though walking with me every day;
Even when her beauty burned me most
She to a spectre dimmed away—

Until though cheeks all morning-bright
And black eyes gleaming life's delight
And singing voice dwelt in my sense,
Herself paled on my inward sight.
She grew one whom deep waters glassed.
Then in dismay I hid from her,
And lone by talking brooks at last
I found a Love still lovelier.

O lost in tortured days of France!
Yet still the moment comes like chance
Born in the stirring midnight's sigh
Or in the wild wet sunset's glance:
And how I know not but this stream
Still sounds like vision's voice, and still
I watch with Love the bubbles gleam,
I walk with Love beside the mill.

The heavens are thrall'd with cloud, yet gray
Half-moonlight swims the fields till day,
The stubbled fields, the bleaching woods:—
Even this bleak hour is stolen away
By this shy water falling low
And calling low the whole night through
And calling back the long ago
And richest world I ever knew.

The hop-kiln fingers cobweb-white
With discord dim turned left and right,
And when the wind was south and small
The sea's far whisper drowns the night;
Scarce more than mantling ivy's voice
That in the tumbling water trailed.
Love's spirit called me to rejoice
When she to nothingness had paled:

For Love the daffodils shone here
In grass the greenest of the year,
Daffodils seemed the sunset lights
And silver birches budded clear:
And all from east to west there strode
Great shafted clouds in argent air,
The shining chariot-wheels of God.
And still Love's moment sees them there.

EDMUND BLUNDEN.

The World of Books.

THE "NATION" OFFICE, THURSDAY NIGHT.

THE following is our weekly selection of books which we commend to the notice of our readers:—

- ✓ "My Years of Exile." By Eduard Bernstein. Translated by Bernard Miall. (Parsons. 15s.)
- "Through Central Borneo." By Carl Lumholtz. 2 vols. Illustrated. (Fisher Unwin. 42s.)
- "Problems of a New World." By J. A. Hobson. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)
- "Selections from the Paston Letters." Edited by Alice D. Greenwood. (Bell. 15s.)
- ✓ "Government and Industry." By C. Delisle Burns. (Allen & Unwin. 16s.)

* * *

If you wish to read a lively book of adventure—really desperate big-game hunting, in a country apparently full of man-eaters that stalk the hunter invisibly and generally get him, and rogue tuskers that wait securely in ambush to flatten out innocent wayfarers who trespass in tabooed groves—read the "Brass Check." It is by Upton Sinclair (Hendersons, 3s. 6d.), an author who has written about jungles before, I am told, though I have never read him. One gathers from Mr. Sinclair that Sven Hedin, Shackleton, Doughty, and other pioneers in lands where you find rocks but no ruth, had simple tasks compared to that of an American newspaper reporter who tries to tell what he knows; for the sub-title of this book is "A Study in American Journalism." It appears from it that there is work still for stout-hearted pioneers in New York which will make Buffalo Bill's excitements in the Wild West seem but table tennis. What are grizzly bears to High Finance? What the Sioux warrior Rain-in-the-Face to Mr. Hearst? Young men who are looking for an exciting life but are deploring the softness of a modern existence should read Upton Sinclair and admire the opportunity he shows could be theirs.

* * *

BECAUSE his is a book telling, like "Don Quixote," of a simple mind for ever entangled in the guiles of a sinful world, with faith at the end of each chapter (or rather, of the earlier chapters) open-eyed in wonder at another unexpected frustration by the artful, it is a comic book which makes a reader feel rather sad. But towards the end of it homely faith appears to have had about enough of it; grows a little cunning; gets wise to it, I think is the expression to use; and so the rosy-cheeked Babes, though not out of the trackless jungle by any means, have some larks with the Wicked Uncles. Yes, now the war is adjourned, and for a time there is nothing obviously desperate for the reckless to spend their courage upon, the "Brass Check" assures us that a young man might do worse than become a reporter in American journalism, and attack one of his proprietor's Sacred Cows. He is promised a frightful result which would make a charging rhinoceros appear no worse than a bassinette in a recreation ground. For myself, though the front line when Minnies were visiting it while I was there used to teach me that if I didn't look like a coward I had all the sensations of one, and that though I didn't intend to run away I should certainly raise no objection to leaving the place at once when ordered to—which is to say that any pale-faced man could have done the same thing—yet now I'll admit that I know I haven't the heart to be a New York reporter. I would not dare to attack a Sacred Cow. I should run away.

* * *

If the brave youngster, looking for adventure, went the right way to work on the American daily Press, he would have merely to point fixedly at matters at which, one gathers, though they are as obvious as skyscrapers, no properly

trained journalist ever points, because that might draw attention to them. That would be enough. When flung from the office after the first round he would look, as O. Henry has said somewhere, like the flying harbinger of a gas-explosion. While reading the "Brass Check" one gets terrifying glimpses of what happens in a prosperous country where glorious liberty and healthy competition, made still more glorious and healthy with special privileges for those who know how to get them, at last leave some men with all their numerous little rivals securely dead, so that Finance and Big Interests have become the same things as the Safety of the Country and the Holy Constitution. That, you might suppose, would be the very opportunity for which the Press was waiting. Its day would have come. Being the guardian of the liberties of the democracy, it would rise at once and tell the democracy what had happened. It would spell it out, to make sure that even the Not-Very-Quick knew that the Big Interests had done to good Americans what George III. ignominiously failed to do. Yet no, says Mr. Sinclair; not on your life. Big Interests and the Press happen to be the same. He says you discover that as soon as you begin to write about Big Business with no more care for its feelings than you would show for working girls on strike. A young and ambitious writer, on the look-out for dragons, finding one, to his great surprise and his supposed good luck, sitting next door to his very editorial office, rides down on it gallantly on the most mettled prose in his stable; and discovers that the dragon is the treasured pet of the man who owns his paper. St. George never knew the full strength and terror of dragons.

* * *

AN English journalist, discussing the "Brass Check" with me, declared that matters are as bad here. They are not. There is no denying that they could be, but I feel sure they never will be. It is true that even in England it too often happens that the important news is not what we read, but what is left out. At the same time, the Press control of public opinion, by giving news a particular trend through selection and suggestion, can be maintained only while the public is so trustful that it accepts what it sees in print in the way it does Greenwich time. But Mr. Kennedy Jones himself has told us that the popular English newspapers are rapidly losing their influence over their readers' opinions, and it is easy to believe him, for it is evident that no public anywhere could remain so generally simple as never to progress beyond fairy tales in words of two syllables.

* * *

ONE of the funniest chapters in the "Brass Check"—from which I intended to quote, but find now I cannot get THE NATION enlarged this week—is called "The Press and Jack London." In America, the fact that a newspaper has not got a picture of a man, when it wants to illustrate a story about him, matters nothing. Any portrait will do, if it is not a woman's. When the "Los Angeles Times" wanted Americans to understand that a terror like Robert Smillie was on the point of making a revolution here, they published a portrait of "a foreign looking individual with straggly beard and tousled hair, wearing a Russian blouse." A portrait, in fact, of Abram Krylenko, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Bolshevik armies. After all, who in Los Angeles would know that? And, in the same way, when, during an address, Jack London illustrated a point he was making with a quotation which happened to be, in an entirely inconsequential sense, "To Hell with the Constitution," the Press got hold of it. They wanted to hurt Jack London. The Big Interests did not like him. Throughout America, therefore, Jack London was reported to have that opinion of the Star-Spangled Banner. That novelist, thoroughly inured to sensations, laughed at the artful device of his enemies. Yet he did not laugh all the time, for, as his wife explained to Sinclair, "Down went his royalties." Certainly one's respect for the power of the Press—and even one's fear of it—increases when reading the "Brass Check." But what work; what work for men to do!

H. M. T.

Reviews.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

"The Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel." Edited by GEORGE PEEL. With Illustrations. (Murray. 18s. net.)

THIS is a very interesting book, for from almost every page strong sidelights are cast upon the mentality of a man who was not only amongst the greatest (the list is not very long) of English statesmen, but was declared to be by one who had watched him in the House of Commons at only too close quarters "the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived."

Sir Robert Peel, though a keen "shot" and an indefatigable slaughterer of small game, was a slow-moving man, both in mind and body. His temperament was not only pre-eminently conservative and cautious, but was not without a touch of that slavishness also noticeable in his most distinguished pupil, Gladstone. And yet what a life he led the Tory Party! A cat among the pigeons! And how exciting and mobile was his own political career, and how gravely, yet how courageously, he faced the questions of the day, and talked with his bitter enemies in the gate.

In these harum-scarum days when no one can guess beforehand what a Prime Minister will say, or how he will say it, it is something of a relief to while away a few hours over three admirably edited volumes of Mr. C. S. Parker, entitled "Sir Robert Peel. From his Private Papers." (1891-1899.) No finer memorial, dignified but moving, exists of a public man; and there as on a pedestal, "more lasting than brass," will ever stand the tall and stately figure of the Sir Robert who kept revolution at bay, and who is as firmly imbedded in our national history as the very different figure of that other Sir Robert, who a century earlier prevented the Stuarts from returning to Whitehall.

Peel may be accounted lucky in his memorial volumes. Disraeli, in his *bizarre*, but ever fascinating "Life of Lord George Bentinck," has devoted a chapter to the character and personality of the man he tortured and defamed—a chapter that tempts us to make the same smug remark which Milton has put into the mouth of Adam when the Almighty shows him for the first time the beautiful Mother of Mankind:—

"This turn doth make amends."

Disraeli has certainly succeeded in doing what Sir Robert himself usually failed to do—in making Peel interesting. Furthermore, another writer, to us as agreeable and more edifying than Disraeli, Dr. Newman, has in one of his discursive contributions to controversial literature thrown light upon some aspects of Peel's mentality.

Towards the end of 1840, Sir Robert, setting the example to Sir Barnes Newcome, who lectured his constituents on "Mrs. Hemans and the Poetry of the Affections," gave an address at Tamworth, on the opening of a reading room to be run on non-sectarian lines, to which discourse we see, from the volume now under review, Lady Peel writing to her "dear, dearest Frederick" refers: "You shall certainly have your Papa's pamphlet of his beautiful speech at Tamworth as soon as it comes out. The one you have seen advertised is not the true one" (p. 175). This "beautiful speech," as reported in the newspapers, attracted Newman's attention, and being, as considering the occasion, it could hardly help being, full of "Broughamism," with a touch of "Benthamism," and a glorification of the "Pursuit of Learning under Difficulties," and the "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," drew from this ever eager controversialist on such subjects four letters to the "Times," which may now be read with delight in Newman's "Discussions and Arguments" under the title "The Tamworth Reading Room." More eloquent letters have never been addressed to an editor. When it is a question of ridiculing the pretensions of man to be a reasoning animal, Montaigne, Pascal, and Newman attain the same rare altitudes; and the way they exercise their reasoning powers in abusing reason (of whom, one cannot help seeing, they are all the time desperately afraid), never fails to excite our admiration. In the course of these letters Newman has occasion to make many interest-

ing and searching remarks about Sir Robert Peel, for whose statesmanship, character, and piety he had (being, like Peel, an Oxford man) great regard, though the one Oxonian could never forgive the other for saying that the "pleasures of physical science" could impart "consolation" to a dying man.

Peel's grandson has in this volume (and we are grateful to him for it) lit another candle for us, a domestic light that enables us, if so minded, to gain further insight into the character of the great Repealer. Domestic letters do not lend themselves to criticism. Sir Robert loved his wife so well as to be occasionally piqued at the slowness of her response, and she loved him so well as not infrequently to be jealous. They had a fine large family of handsome children, in whose society they both took pleasure from the cradle. The slings and arrows of outrageous political fortune never penetrated their comfortable homesteads. They had fine tastes, plenty of money, good looks, position, and patronage; and if they were not really religious in the Newmanic sense, they thought they were, and said their unflinching prayers accordingly. It is on the small things of life that domestic letters turn the light, and from this volume it is made abundantly plain that Sir Robert Peel was a man not easy to please, and that though stiff in his own manners and by no means the best of company, he was easily bored in that of other people.

His letters to his wife when visiting alone would make up a Gallery of Frights, though, as his grandson shrewdly observes, this "stringency of tone may be accounted for by a natural desire to minimize the social enjoyments in which his wife did not share." (73.)

"We had the Archbishop and Mrs. Sutton. You never saw so vulgar a woman as Mrs. Sutton." (51.)

"I wish you could see Mrs. Huskisson's dress and affected manner, making ugliness fifty times more ugly." (61.)

"I do not recollect when I have been more surprised than on the appearance of Mrs. Baring in the drawing-room before dinner. . . . Someone told us that though not a perfect beauty, she had fine eyes. I could scarcely believe my own when I saw a short and ugly, stumpy woman." (74.)

"Lady G. Fane I have long thought the most impertinent and odious woman in England." (87.)

"Three frightful sisters of Lord Portarlington." (118.)

And so on.

Nor were dinner-parties always endurable.

"We had a most vulgar dinner yesterday at Sir James Flower's house—a bad repetition of the Fish Dinner. Eternal puffing of bad wine. But the host is the most remarkable attender in the House of Commons of all the Members. He has dined every day at two o'clock, arrived at the House at four, has never left it, and out of 221 divisions has been in 211, more than any member of the Government.

"By his dinners he has gained considerable influence, has never asked a favor, and has never voted against the Government. He deserves from me, therefore, that I should undergo the penance of sitting next to him at dinner and hearing his remonstrances against mixing water with wine." (245.)

The number of dull dinner parties that were given in those days in order to keep Wellington and Peel on speaking terms was abnormal—and we cannot but feel sorry for Sir James Flower, who probably found Peel every bit as dull as the great man did him. But we suppose he got some satisfaction out of it which Peel did not.

But we must end on a higher note. The real Peel—the great Peel—is revealed to us in a conversation too long to be here quoted, but which is set out at length on page 285 of Mr. George Peel's book. The scene is Peel's house in Whitehall Gardens, the date is 1847, and the recorder of the conversation is the Comte de Jarnac, the representative of Louis Philippe at the Court of St. James.

"I found myself after dinner sitting next my host. . . . He spoke to me first of the Socialist writings of Louis Blanc, which he had studied very closely, and asked me as to the extent of their influence in France. I expressed the hope that such appeals to revolt against the inevitable conditions of civilized society would never find many dupes or victims among a population so intelligent as our own.

"Sir Robert listened to me with close attention, in that thoughtful attitude which was his wont, his head a little bowed, his cheek resting on his hand, slightly inclining his head when my words accorded with his own feelings, and shaking it sadly when he could not share in my optimism.

"At length he looked up and began to speak. Such writings, he argued, must not be judged by the effect they

may produce upon the fortunate ones of this world whom education or enlightenment can preserve in comfort. But our civilization has had the result of dooming numberless millions of human beings to an existence of perpetual labor, to profound ignorance and to sufferings as difficult to remedy as they are undeserved. What ferments will not be produced in these cramped intelligences, in their embittered hearts, by such passionate invitations to their hopes, to their desires, and to their revenge?"

And so on the conversation rolled! Sir Robert may not have been an original thinker, but he supplies food for thought as much now as in 1847.

A. B.

PERCIPIENTS.

"Built in Jerusalem's Wall." By FRANCIS KEPPEL. (Milford. 8s. 6d.)

"Pilgrim Papers." By ROBERT KEABLE. (Christophers. 5s.)

MR. KEPPEL'S book is bound in theological blue, but when opened it reveals Jerusalem a pleasant sight, in the agreeable guise of an end-paper by Mr. C. R. Ashbee. Lo and behold! the Pool of Siloam, the Dome of the Rock, also motor cars, an old party with a hubble-bubble, fellahin at the plough; and this medley is avowedly reflected in Mr. Keppel's writing. He is at pains—perhaps at too many pains—to tell us that his mind is disorderly, and he has written a book of loose form, in which essays, stories, anecdotes, and poems are linked by dialogues between the "Author and his Christian Friend." Yet he has written a book. There is no doubt of that. The medley is bound into one volume, not indeed by a theological blue, but by that lighter shade whose substance is the sky. It is a book of hope, inspired by the Hill of Sion, and it is a Christian book, however much the Christian friend may protest, and the author himself disavow dogmatism.

"I shall not much mind if I don't meet the missionary gentleman in heaven, Yusuf, but I hope you'll be there, and Yacoub, and Maria, and the lady who, expecting the coming of Christ every Friday, climbed to the top of the Mount of Olives once a week and took with her a tea-basket containing two cups, because she thought He might be glad of a cup of tea after His long journey."

Love, humility, and self-sacrifice are the virtues he values most, and he gives his celestial tea party to those who practise them. Sometimes he is gay about his Christianity, as in the foregoing quotation—a gaiety that neighbors facetiousness. Sometimes, and with greater success, he is serious. Listen to his account of Gordon's Calvary; outside the north wall of the city:—

"The garden lay quiet, tangled, drenched in sunlight in which the flowers lifted their heads as though in rejoicing. In the little open court before the actual tomb, two uniformed Americans were sitting. Their heads were bowed over their Bibles, and their broad hats hid their faces; but Maurice recognized them, by the sign on their sleeves, as the men whom he had seen some days before at the hotel—yellow-spectacled and chinless members of some deliberate and self-advertising form of piety. Doubtless they were earnestly reading the account of the Resurrection on the very spot.

"Oh no! Life was too elusive, imaginative, and potential a thing to be taken thus slavishly *au pied de la lettre*. From the page on which was written 'Why seek ye the living among the dead?' they did not raise their eyes to see Christ bursting forth on every bough, and blossoming in all the roses of the garden."

Orthodoxy may protest, archæology may argue that Gordon's Calvary has no better claim than the Church of the Sepulchre to be regarded as the true site of the Entombment, but Mr. Keppel goes blithely on his way. He might be an early Franciscan, of the generation that had not been licensed to preach by the Pope, and his blitheness would pall but for the mysticism that accompanies it. Mysticism is not a literary device, but a habit of mind. Not of set purpose, but because he cannot otherwise, does he see in Jerusalem "Walls of dew and fire" and "The way of pain," and the "Apocalyptic Fantasia." The last of the book is finest: a "Prelude, Aria and Finale," three stories grouped together in a fanciful homage to César Franck. The first story leads to death, the second a little beyond death. The third is entitled "The Communion of Saints." In it a young officer, lately released from hospital, goes to a concert in Cairo. The music becomes unexpectedly splendid, and the ecstasy he feels remains during lunch at the

Club, and increases when he goes up to his work at Jerusalem. Presently he is demobilized, and finds his people at home much changed, but changed for the better, his mother's health improved, his father sympathetic, the very house more significant and friendly. He cannot understand why this is, nor why the only person not so changed is his fiancée. Between him and her there is now a cloud. He asks his mother, who implies that the cloud will pass: "It's quite natural Helen should be a little rebellious . . . she doesn't always realize . . ." One afternoon he finds the girl alone. She has sobbed herself to sleep, and on the table beside her are some of his letters and a newspaper cutting. He glances at the cutting and learns from it that he had died in Cairo. . . .

"The Communion of Saints" is written with simplicity and beauty, and moves into focus during the last few words in the most impressive way. It is not a machine-made tale about the unseen, but a vision, and we can find the same quality throughout the book, though the expression is sometimes defective and tinged by sentimentality. The book should be read. It is a single utterance, and even the sections that are failures in themselves (the Dialogues with the Christian Friend, for instance) play their part in the construction.

Mr. Keable's "Pilgrim Papers" resembles "Built in Jerusalem's Wall" in outlook. But it is definitely ecclesiastical in tone, and so produces a certain hardness in those readers who are not sure whether they are Christians and are certain that they are not Churchmen. It tells of a High Church Missionary who is working among the Basutos on the Berg, the great mountain that separates their country from Natal. Like Sion, this mountain becomes holy to him, and from its heights he writes letters to the world. Here, too, there is some sentimentality and some facetiousness—the two dangers which, from the literary point of view, most beset the mystic temperament. But here, too, is genuine vision, and an unconventional outlook, the vision radiating from the Sacrament of the Mass. . . . It is difficult for the outsider, for the "Impercipient," as Thomas Hardy calls him, to make further comment on books of this type. Dogma gives him pause. He can but appraise their sincerity (both books are sincere) and their æsthetic achievement. And he must note that the less they reason the more they achieve. Mr. Keppel never reasons. The hero of "Pilgrim Papers" is less wise. He is conscious of being a priest, and he is always worrying over his relation to the world—a problem which never worries the world. And he argues that Protestantism is false because it is based upon arguments—a curious argument. He is more intellectual than Mr. Keppel, and his knowledge of human nature is wider. But his sympathy flows through more difficult channels. Aware that he is the vehicle of Divine Grace, he does not venture to let himself go.

RACE AND ART.

"Lustre Pottery." By LADY EVANS. (Methuen. 52s. 6d. net.)

THE art of the potter is one of the earliest of the arts of man; and since the cave-dweller first baked his clay and found it turned to stone, it has never lost its fascination or its mystery. No one who has looked through the spy-hole of a muffle furnace, and seen the shapes of pure light that stand in the heart of the fire, can ever again deny romance to even the humblest jam-pot that has known that flaming apotheosis. Everything about it has a touch of the magical: the dirty mud-colors and greys and browns that one applies with the brush of faith and finds transmuted into the colors of the sky and sea; the docility of the clay, which takes the mark of a finger-tip or the scratch of a quill, and, having taken it, keeps it for a thousand years; the wonder of the wheel as the clay climbs and lifts and grows under the hand, changing and shaping like a thing of life; all these explain why the symbols of the potter and the clay run through all the literature of all the ages.

The antiquity of the art gives us a great variety of material and treatment, and secrets have been found and lost and found again repeatedly in the course of its history. Each race gives to its pottery something of its own mental color. The artistic and intellectually subtle Greek has left

the fine-grained, close-textured ware; elegant in outline, restrained in color and surface, and clear and accurate in its decoration as his own logical mind. Chinese pottery, with its wealth of intricate detail, symbol and myth, sophisticated and exquisite; the Persian, glowing with color, heavy and rich, sensuous and jewel-like; each reflects the mind of its makers.

Lady Evans's book deals exclusively, not with the pottery of one race, but with the pottery of one method. Lustre ware is not widely distributed, and never flourished for long out of touch with the minds that produced it. Of purely Eastern origin, it is first found in Egypt in the ninth and tenth centuries, reaching a high level of artistic attainment in Persia in the three or four following centuries. It went to Spain with the Moslem conquerors, and Moorish-Spanish pieces have been found dating from the tenth century. Its peculiarity lies in the use of a metallic stain or lustre, applied both alone and over color. In the latter case, the thinness of the metallic film allows the color to show, apparently unchanged, until the surface catches a sidelight, when a bright iridescence plays over it, compared by a Persian visitor to Egypt in the ninth century to the play of color in a shot, woven silk.

The process is a sufficiently complicated one, and, in the hands of early potters, must have given very uncertain results. The body, often of quite coarse earthenware, was first baked or dried, then usually covered with a fine, white "slip" (a mixture of fine clay and water, of the consistency of cream), then with a vitreous glaze, with or without lead. In some early Eastern work, and in most of the Hispano-Moresque lustre of a later date, this double process was replaced by a single coating of a kind of enamel, containing tin and lead, which, without the use of slip or glaze, gave a dense, white, glassy surface on which to work. In either case the piece was fired at this stage; when cold, the lustre pigment—which contained, in addition to a "body" of ochre and other materials, silver or copper, or both—was applied to the surface of the glaze, and the piece refired at a much lower temperature, so as slightly to fuse the glaze and thus hold the metal film to it. This process is extremely delicate, and on it the whole success of the operation depends. If this firing is done at too high a temperature the lustre pigment fuses right into the glaze, and all its iridescence is lost, leaving only an ugly, grey stain. The metal basis of the lustre pigment is ground up, before application, with certain other substances, which have to be removed. This is done by introducing into the kiln, at a given moment, some material—in early instructions it is given as rosemary or dry gorse—which will burn with a dense smoke. This acts upon the compounds of the pigment, and leaves on the surface of the glaze only the thinnest possible film of metal. When the piece is cold it is washed and polished, when its full brilliance appears.

Lady Evans gives some interesting extracts from the household accounts of Jean du Berri, Duc de Poitiers, a great collector and art-lover of the fourteenth century, who rebuilt his palace at Poitiers in the thirteen-eighties, and imported a Spanish-Moorish potter to make him lustred tiles for his building. He made workshops and constructed special kilns, and his accounts show entries of eggs supplied by Jehanne the hen-wife, a dozen at a time, for mixing the colors; of payments to Richard the painter and his son for drawing out the patterns; for fuel and faggots of gorse-wood; for a little mill for grinding the enamel and a sieve for straining it. The process seems to have been the Hispano-Moresque, which had the tin-enamel surface, and some fragments of these very tiles have been turned up at Poitiers, still showing the patterns traced upon them by the brush of Richard the painter.

Lustre pottery in England has never flourished greatly. A good deal of the so-called lustre ware made in this country is not properly so classified at all. The process used gives a metallic coating to the whole piece, producing the appearance of actual metal, with none of the delicacy and iridescence of the true lustre film. True lustre has been used with very beautiful results by Mr. William de Morgan, by Messrs. Pilkington, and a few others. But it has never felt at home out of touch with the people that created it. It has been "half hardy," and never truly naturalized. Even Italy, that arch-assimilator, produced a lustre ware debased

in artistic feeling though good in technique. In Spain, where the blood of the East still tinges complexions and temperaments, the art keeps touch with its home in Egypt and Persia, and the Arab blood still acts upon the movements of the Spanish mind. Like begets like, in art as in action.

A SPANISH CRITIC OF ENGLISH POETRY.

"Shelley and Calderon, and Other Essays on English and Spanish Poetry." By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. (Constable. 15s. net.)

To have written a book on the poetry of another nation in a language which is not your own is, in itself, a remarkable achievement. It has been done before; but few men not bred in a country have learned to write its language as well as Mr. Madariaga has learned to write English. He was not educated in England, and has only lived here for the last four or five years. Sympathy for the Allies brought him; but his book "*La guerra desde Londres*" (The war seen from London) cannot be dismissed as mere propaganda. Like most Spaniards, and like all Spaniards of intelligence, Mr. Madariaga's neutrality had a strong bias towards England and France; he was pro-Ally, not because he hated any Germans, but because he felt that if there were any civilization left after the mad struggle were over he would find more things to admire in England and France than in the Central Empires. We hope that his disillusion will not be so great as to drive him back to Spain.

His new book contains four essays. That of most value to Spanish studies in England will be the account of Spanish popular poetry, with its many examples and excellent translations. No one in future who is interested in Spanish literature—or in Spanish music, for that matter—will be able to neglect it. But the most interesting parts of the book are the lecture on Shelley and Calderon and the chapter called "The Case of Wordsworth." The former is, perhaps, the better written; the latter is certainly the more provocative. It is easy to disagree with Mr. Madariaga; but his work needs an answer, and deserves to be taken seriously. It might seem a Quixotic thing to do, for a stranger to express his doubts on the greatness of Wordsworth as a poet. Mr. Madariaga, however, is better equipped for tilting than the "Ingenious Gentleman," his countryman. He has knowledge and reason on his side; he is calm and collected. It is no use our sulking and saying that this Spaniard is talking nonsense about Wordsworth; it is possible that he knows his Wordsworth a great deal better than many Englishmen know him. The trouble is that he has not succeeded in regarding Wordsworth from an English point of view, as he himself would be the first to admit. He has been unable to find either what the English point of view is or the reasons on which it is based. He cannot make out why there should be Wordsworthians and not Shakespearians, Miltonians, and Shelleyans; and he thinks it natural that Wordsworth is not recognized abroad as what, in Matthew Arnold's opinion, he was—the greatest English poet since Shakespeare and Milton and the greatest in Europe after Molière and Goethe. The specifically English quality which we all feel, in varying degrees, in the poetry of Wordsworth is hard to explain, and it is surely the business of some twentieth-century Wordsworthian to explain it. Mr. Madariaga has had to do what many Englishmen have done in passing judgment on Spanish things—to rely solely upon his own investigations and conclusions. He has tried every means of getting at the English standpoint, and has to confess that he has been unable to find it.

It is most important for us to realize that what matters is not what we ourselves think of English things, but what Europe thinks of them. If England and the Empire were to blow up and vanish to-morrow morning, we should be remembered as the people who produced sanitary arrangements, ships and Shakespeare. This is what the word English means to most people abroad. It is impossible to go over a foreign house or a foreign ship without coming across something of this kind which was made in England. After all, we might have done worse. Still, we should be able to convince people that we have poets and musicians as good at their jobs as our plumbers and sailors; and this book is a

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reminder that we must be able, not only to say that we like our poets, but also to explain why, and to explain it to the rest of Europe. A country's art and culture are never taken at that country's valuation or anywhere near it, unless it is clear what that valuation is and what it depends upon. For this reason Mr. Madariaga has done us a good turn. His point of view is European, and the fact of its being a Spanish point of view means that it is likely to be more sympathetic to us than if it were a view from any other part of Europe.

ALL ABOUT IT.

"A History of the War." By H. C. O'NEILL. (Jack. 12s. 6d.)

At the least it can be said for this history of the war that you get more for your money than in any other history—over 1,000 pages, in fact; large pages, too, though of clear print on light paper, and so easy to hold and to read. Mr. O'Neill has divided his history into three parts, and each part into several "books" (there are eight books), in a scientific way that ought to give the four years of chaos, with its sporadic eruptions at sea, in France, Russia, Italy, the Balkans, Turkey, Palestine, Mesopotamia, the Kameruns, and East Africa some correlation to the varying ideas and fluctuating energies of the directing minds at the centres. Without such clues an innocent reader of the multitude of battles might suppose they just unreasonably happened, continued inconsequently for a time, and died down without settling anything, even doubts, until we come to the dramatic Hundred Days of 1918. So that Mr. O'Neill's history justifies his courageous attempt to cover the whole ground and all the battles, for its great volume of matter is well ordered, a steady unfolding of martial episodes and their consequences in relation to the general pressure of circumstances, material and psychic, on the armies and peoples concerned. It is simply and closely written, under an impulse which gives an illusion of rapidity to the reading of it—the thousand pages do not seem too much, once one is well under way. After all, though, the chief merit of this history is Mr. O'Neill's critical understanding of what has been described, with no humorous intent, as the "science of war." His grasp of the details of the campaigns, so far as he has room to give them, is extraordinary, and where a reviewer has the special knowledge to put them to a test, they are accurate in a way the discriminating learned never to expect from "official correspondents" and official historians—with the exception, of course, of Mr. John Buchan and his admirable narrative of events. For example, those who were "out there" during the German retreat of 1917 will agree with Mr. O'Neill and his views about that, though his critical examination of the affair is one which we can well understand was strongly resented by G.H.Q.

The rapid survey of the events which led up to the battle of the Marne, and his description of that decisive battle itself, is a corrective to those false or extreme views of the great affair which previous historians have made popular. What really happened? Was it the counter-stroke by Foch at Connaught which brought about the German defeat, or Manaury's attack on von Kluck? Mr. O'Neill is content merely to weigh the evidence. There were many other factors to be considered. For example, there was the victory at Guise, the closing of the gap at Charmes, and the terrific fighting round the Grand Couronné of Nancy—all of first importance. Mr. O'Neill points out that the force which struck on the German right flank was itself, towards the end of the battle, being enveloped. He shows, too, that though the transfer by Foch from his left to his right of the 42nd Division under Grossetti, when his centre and his right were in retreat, though it was an audacious stroke of genius which in any case would have checkmated von Hausen, yet it occurred after 6 p.m., and already at 5 p.m. on that day von Bulow had had orders to retire. Mr. O'Neill's is as suggestive an examination of the factors determining the Marne—though it still leaves the problem open—as we have seen.

There are some trifling errors of his we would correct, if it were worth while. For example, he says that, in the episodes preliminary to Verdun, in the German attack on

Frise (Somme) in January, 1916, the British were there. The Germans captured Frise. But the British were not. Their line ended at Vaux. It chances that this reviewer knows because he witnessed the affair.

"THE JOVIAL CREW."

Cambridge Poets, 1914-1920: An Anthology." Compiled by EDWARD DAVISON. (Heffer. 7s. 6d. net.)

AFTER reading through this volume of 213 pages, one is inclined to say with a sigh of relief—well, at least in these bad days of unemployment, it has kept a certain number of printers going. But as it is a representative collection of Cambridge poets, whose books are scattered over many more years than those between 1914 and 1920, and contains selections from the work of Mr. R. C. Trevelyan, Flecker, Mr. Sassoon, Mr. Squire, Mrs. Shove, Mr. Harold Monro, and other poets whose reputation extends beyond Cambridge, it gives us a useful bird's-eye view of the condition, attitude, and relative achievement of modern verse.

Evidently we were conventionally wrong in our views about youth. Our hypothesis for the poetry of young men was imitation, faulty technique, crudeness, uncertainty, and so on, but any amount of zeal, adventure, fire, experiment, discontent, and gladness in the beauty of the world. We were almost comically mistaken, for the very last thing that can be said of the young poets of Cambridge is that they are on tiptoe for a flight. Most of them appear to be potential Werthers, and to be so burdened with the idea of death that they slouch along in a moody inertia. And this has nothing to do with to-day's tragedy of human life; it is an egocentric emotion, containing no cry of pain, no sorrowing for humanity, no fierce resentment against the ugliness and cruelty of modern life, no revolt, no grief, while the references to the war are few and astonishingly pallid:—

"In Flanders where the soldiers lie
The mist-hung world is cheerless grey,
And willows watch with leaden eye
Penurious Dawn greet haggard Day."

But not so penurious nor cheerless grey as this volume, since at least in Flanders there were agonies and fear, hate and love. One poet utters the pious wish—"make me a beast or a stone"; the ambition of another is to "blow bubbles till I die," another "echoes the hopeless moon":—

"No more, no more,
With the monotonous mouth of misery
The dreadful damned interminable plovers
Vexed midnight with their melancholy cry."

They might leave nature out of their glum anthropomorphism. But no, here is another who sees and hears in the waving of bare boughs in the wind "shrill pain," "wildly contrite dirges," and a "wailing" admonishing his own sins. Another moons about "in a sad trance," finding nothing in life but "idle tales told in an idle day," "passionless poems" from the "languid hand" of a "drugged" and "bemused boy." This one is a mouse under the paw of the Almighty Cat, and that one after painting the joys of love and what he might have done with it, peters out into a "I prefer to . . . Good-night!" Another of these weebegones sighs:—

"To those dim fields beneath the grass
Out of the sun soon let me pass,"

while another blighted blossom ponders "how I may say farewell to life," and his fellow in dole murmurs: "For beauty dead we fill our hearts with weeping." One of them, thinking there may be something in beauty living after all, sings:—

"The gloss of the apple,
The bloom of the plum,
The peach's red-dapple—
How can one be glum?"

But the muse in her mausoleum regards this as a sacrilegious interruption of her meditations among the tombs. A jolly world!

Without being able to satisfy our curiosity as to the autobiographies of these hypochondriacs, dripping their disconsolate ditties, we may yet inquire whether this humor is the latest fashion among our warbling wayfarers setting out in the morning of their age upon the high-road of life. Are these despairs "cold, like false tears," as one of them

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expresses it? We see the epitaphs all right, but we cannot make out what particular loss they celebrate, for none of these mourners betrays the smallest concern for the real sorrows and wrongs of the world. Either it is the merest pose and exercise, or it is an Orlando-like indulgence in the funeral for the sake of the pleasurable sensations its excites. We are inclined to the former view, since hardly any of them write because they have anything to say. "Critics have damned our calling," writes one of them, but "we must write whether we will or no." The critic is so old-fashioned as to say that if you have nothing to write about, it is better not to write at all, and when another sings, "Ah, but I loved you, Dædalos," to declare an honest doubt of it:—

"The Western Wind has romped with her,
Salt-laden from the sea;
And though he is in love with her
I shall not jealous be;
And though he wind her loosened hair
About him and about,
And tumbles her and kisses her,
I shall not call him out."

A few of Rupert Brooke's now very familiar poems appear. Flecker's pomps seem faded, nor is the compiler's choice of his work very judicious, while Mr. Sassoon, affected no doubt by the dank atmosphere exuded by the company he finds himself in, does not speak above a husky whisper. Mr. Trevelyan is never more than ingenious, and writes far below the level of the "Pterodamossels"; Mr. Squire and Mr. Monro play with word-pictures with great competence, and Mr. Shanks with less, while the only poet who manifests any spiritual feeling at all is Mrs. Fredegonde Shove, and the only poets who promise to emerge from the prevailing egoism and sterility of the majority with a genuine distinction are Mr. Martin Armstrong, who shows some power of pictorial effect and telling arrangement, and the compiler, an elegant poet with a personable touch and a fine command over his instrument.

BOOKS IN BRIEF.

"A Consulting Surgeon in the Near East." By Lient.-Col. A. H. TUBBY. (Christophers. 15s. net.)

A PLAIN and modest account of the experiences in Gallipoli, Egypt, and Palestine of a civilian hospital surgeon selected to serve as a consulting surgeon in the war. As "eye-witness" of big events which have often been described he has nothing very fresh to say, but his observations on his own sphere of work, his discussion of the problems connected with the health of the Army, are of general interest and importance. He believes that the chief cause of the British failure at Gallipoli was the prevalence of diarrhoea and dysentery, and next to that the enervating effects of the climate on men fresh out from home. Widely prevalent disease and bad climatic conditions kept our numbers too low for the great task set them. Chapters are devoted to "interesting" cases. In regard to the deadly nature of head injuries, Colonel Tubby would like to know the history of those who recovered from the immediate physical effects. He wonders how many instances of mania, idiocy, and suicide in the future will be directly traceable to wounds of the head, illness, and hardship during the war.

"Memoirs of the Count of Rochechouart. 1788—1822." Translated by FRANCES JACKSON. (Murray. 16s. net.)

PITY the noble *émigré*, but do not pity him too much. The French Revolution upset his home life, but it did not make of him a roofless wanderer. A bond of common interest made the monarchs and nobility of Europe one family. Aristocrats of all lands, unite! The French nobles were welcomed by their fellows everywhere. At the age of twelve Rochechouart was appointed by the Marquis de Mortemart an officer in one of the regiments of *émigrés* in Portugal. Twelve is not much of an age for an officer, even when he has aristocratic influences, but the youngster looked old for his years, and was five feet high. The Chasseurs Nobles were in the pay of England. In his first campaign, which ended with the Peace of Amiens, he saw no fighting, but it enabled

him "to make a delightful tour in the interior of Portugal." Rochechouart received £260 on the disbandment of the *émigré* regiments, England paying, as she did for his pleasant tour. Later he went to Russia to join his mother, an incurable conspirator for the Bourbons, to whom the Princess of Nassau had entrusted the government of two villages in the Crimea. The Duc de Richelieu, a family connection, was Governor-General of the New Russia, comprising Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and Taurida. Rochechouart, on the death of his mother, was adopted by the Duke, became his aide-de-camp, and, except during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, remained with him till the Duke's death in 1822. Rochechouart was soon fighting against the Turks. We get some impressions of the charm of the military mind. General Meyendorff felt he could not trust the Mussulmans in the event of a reverse. He therefore treated the entire population of 15,000 Tartars as if they were soldiers who had surrendered, deporting them, in the depth of winter, to Kursk, 800 leagues away. Three-fifths perished on the journey. This act, Rochechouart thought, "was by no means necessary." In St. Petersburg all the embassies and great houses opened their doors to Rochechouart. He became aide-de-camp to the Tsar, and took part in all the events, from the crossing of the Beresina to the entry of the Allies into Paris. He was a witness of great happenings, but he throws no new light on people or things. What small value his memoirs have consists in their revelation of a French aristocrat's state of mind. His conscience did not prick him in taking up arms against his countrymen; even the suspicion that this might, to some people, seem strange never once crossed his mind.

* * *

"Supers and Supermen: Studies in Politics, History, and Letters." By PHILIP GUEDALLA. (Fisher Unwin. 15s. net.)

THE historian who should venture on the preserves of the music-hall comedian might be expected to fail. It had never been done before the advent of Mr. Guedalla. In him we have a historian who makes the venture and succeeds. His gags are almost new, too. He has not—not yet—come down to mothers-in-law and umbrellas, although he is much tickled by old-fashioned collars and Victorian whiskers. His pert comments on great events keep the whole house giggling, and it roars at the inexhaustible supply of gags like:—

"The voice of one Billing in the wilderness."
"Kind hearts are more than coroners."
"Dope deferred maketh the heart sick."

It would seem that Mr. Guedalla intends at all costs to avoid writing in the style of the English historians. He has discovered that it is not really a style at all, but "an industrial disease. The thing is probably scheduled in the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the publisher may be required upon notice of the attack to make a suitable payment to the writers' dependants." Historians' English is not one of Mr. Guedalla's weaknesses. His particular weakness was to have collected these newspaper articles, which were bright and lively enough in their original setting, and packed them into a volume. The book form makes it patent that he has not the essayist's art of meandering with a purpose. When Mr. Guedalla leads us down a by-path it is not to find an illustration to his theme, but to pick up a pun which has nothing to do with it. These divergences are irritating, for Mr. Guedalla, who has read widely, often promises a thoughtful argument. He is skilful in word-play, he has a sense of the comic, he is clever in a variety of ways, yet, except when rivalling Mr. Wilkie Bard, he does not "bring it off." He appears to be haunted by a fear that if he does not wear his hat at an angle he will be thought a dull fellow. Does he find Mr. Lytton Strachey dull? Yet Mr. Strachey's ironic sense can play havoc with the eminent. Mr. Guedalla merely pokes fun at their clothes and whiskers because they are not in the style of to-day. How will a portrait of—well, any of us—appear to the young wits of 1970? There is no doubt about Mr. Guedalla's neatness of phrasing and frequent shrewdness of criticism. What he lacks is humor and imagination. Some day, if these things come to him, his verbal facility will enable him to present us with some historical supers and supermen that really entertain. At present we cannot see the supermen for Mr. Guedalla.

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A PROPOSAL FOR WORLD PEACE.—A Public Meeting will be held on Tuesday, February 8th, at 6.30 p.m., at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C., to be addressed by MAURICE HEWLETT. Chairman: Harold J. Morland.

THE NEXT STEP TO PEACE.—A series of Lunch Hour addresses is to be given at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C., on Mondays, from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. January 31st: "Social Engineering," Miss Margery Fry.

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The Week in the City.

(BY OUR CITY EDITOR.)

THURSDAY.

THE financial event of the past week has been the feverish activity of the foreign exchanges. The French franc, which only a fortnight ago was quoted 63 to the £ sterling, actually improved to nearly 50 before reacting to 53.50. Brussels exchange moving in sympathy, while other European exchanges have also improved. Sterling has also retained its recent firmness in terms of the dollar, and improved to \$3.82. It is true that whenever an important inter-Allied Conference is held there is a flurry in the exchange market, due to speculation, and doubtless the present gathering at Paris has much to do with the present movement. But, whether or not the recent exchange improvement is maintained, and shows itself to be justified by the facts of the position, it would appear that there is a little more behind it than the mere psychological influence of the Quai D'Orsay meeting, or the change of Government in France. The increased inclination that America is now showing both to grant credits to Europe and to interest herself in European recovery has certainly exerted a strong, helpful effect upon quotations of sterling and francs. The quotation of the German mark has risen sharply, but speculation in marks should be disparaged, for it is as dangerous as ever. Germany has not yet reached the end of her chapter of inflation, and also there are enormous quantities of marks held abroad. Dabblers in marks have burnt their fingers before; they will burn them again.

Our rate of recovery from the present economic depression depends in no small measure on the power of statesmen to restore some degree of stability and security in Europe, and the Paris Conference is watched, from this point of view, with much anxiety. Labor's official proposals for remedy are perhaps, on the whole, more moderate than the City expected, but they are held to contain no practical constructive suggestion which has not been already thought of, and a good deal that is economically unsound. Best City opinion is sympathetic to Labor's suspicions of wage reductions; but the City realizes perhaps more clearly than Labor leaders that in very many branches of industry serious losses are being incurred, and that unless the cost of production can be brought down more factory doors will have to be shut. Many shrewd observers believe that before things can greatly improve we have got to take a spell at retracing our steps round the vicious circle—lower wages, lower prices. Possibly the City is in an easier position to realize that the root of the present trouble of growing stocks and sluggish demand is not over-production, but under-consumption, which, in its turn, is due to reduction of purchasing power brought about by waste, destruction, and under-production. Latest reports from industrial centres show a gleam of improvement.

Is Sir George Younger's mention at Cambridge of a £950 millions Budget inspired prophecy or a kite?

The last currency notes return showed a decline of £6½ millions in circulation. Tuesday night's return of national revenue and expenditure showed a further reduction of over £5 millions in the floating debt, Ways and Means Advances being paid off to the tune of £13 millions, while applications for Treasury Bills exceeded maturities by £8 millions. Receipts from National Savings Certificates are keeping up well.

STOCK MARKET FEATURES.

The strong upward movement of gilt-edged stocks which has been the feature in the House for the past few weeks has been stayed for the moment. But any reaction in the quotations of high-class investment stocks may be expected to bring in buyers, and there seems to be no reason why the recent rise should not be resumed. Foreign stocks have ousted British stocks from the limelight this week, mainly for reasons explained above as influencing the exchanges. Otherwise markets are lifeless, with the exception of Grand Trunks and a few other Canadian securities which have benefited from the removal of the embargo upon the export of Canadian securities from this country to Canada. Home Rails, in normal times so active on the eve of the dividend announcements, are apathetic, the dividend rates, so long as the Government guarantee lasts, leaving little scope for

speculation. The new capital market this week is devoid of borrowers, but an important issue by the Commonwealth of Australia is impending. After the very striking success of the Local Loans and Cunard issues, the omens favor the chances of success for the Commonwealth Loan, and for a quadruple Corporation Loan for which preparations are being made. On the first day of their quotation the Cunard Debentures reached 5 premium.

MR. GOODENOUGH'S OPTIMISM.

Bank reports are rather slower than usual in appearing this year, and it is not possible to review the accounts of the Big Five this week. The meetings of the leading Banks are awaited with as much interest as the accounts, for the chairmen make use of these occasions for weighty pronouncements upon the financial and economic position. The first of the Big Five chairmen to speak was Mr. Goodenough at Barclays meeting yesterday. Mr. Goodenough's speech presented many points of interest, not the least of which was his optimism. After laying stress on the favorable trade balance which this country regained in 1920, he said: "We are now passing through a period of readjustment, and I am confident that we shall emerge from it as well and as quickly as other countries where the same thing is happening; also that our relative position—as reflected in the foreign exchanges—will, subject, of course, to temporary fluctuations, continue steadily to improve." Mr. Goodenough advocated international assistance for distressed countries, in order to set their trade and production going again. The carrying out of such a scheme, he thought, "might involve some inflation of credit in this and other countries. Such inflation should, however, result in the reopening of trade, and is, therefore, preferable to inflation incurred as a result of trade stagnation and unemployment doles." This passage will give rise to interesting discussions. Mr. Goodenough is alive to the necessity of reducing production costs, and thinks wages will have to come down, "but any step towards reduction in wages should come from Labor." The step, it appears from the events of the week, will not come from the leaders of Labor. But I hear already of instances where it is coming from individual groups of workers. The speaker concluded on a note of optimism, "I see no reason why we should not quickly recover from the present stagnation," and with a plea for the establishment of a financial League of Nations. A minor, but interesting, point in the speech was a reference to catering for the small depositor of £1 and upwards, and the announcement that Barclays already had deposits of this nature running into "many millions."

INVESTMENT NOTES.

The recommendations of the Cave Commission upset the market for Chartered, where optimistic speculators had been hoping for a total award of something like £7,000,000. But I think the award is as good as ought reasonably to have been expected. Two points, however, must be noted about it. It is hypothetical, and would only become a matter of practical politics if and when the Chartered Company's administration of Southern Rhodesia ceases; and, secondly, the payment even of the £4 millions odd as recommended would have to run the gauntlet of a volume of criticism from some quarters in the House of Commons. Chartered may not have entirely lost speculative possibilities, but the grounds for thinking that they are to-day worth much more than their present market price seem to be slender.

Perhaps the most remarkable point about the satisfactory accounts of Alexander's Discount Company was that they had no investment depreciation to write off. This surprising achievement was effected by the policy of the directors in holding only securities with short maturity dates.

The National Mutual Life leads the assurance companies in the promptness with which its report is issued. Its new business in 1920 was a record, and its claims by death the lowest for twenty-five years. The ratio of expenses rose very slightly as compared with 1919.

Gordon Hotels shareholders should make a point of attending the extraordinary general meeting called for February 3rd.

L. J. R.

**BANK OF LIVERPOOL AND
MARTINS LIMITED.****NINETIETH ANNUAL MEETING.**

THE NINETIETH ANNUAL MEETING of Shareholders of the Bank of Liverpool and Martins Limited was held at Liverpool on Tuesday last, Mr. Edward Paul, the Chairman, presiding over a numerous attendance.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, referred to the completion of the amalgamations with Messrs. Cocks Biddulph & Co., the Palatine Bank, and the Halifax Commercial Banking Co. Each had been successfully carried through, and had added materially to the strength and earning power of the Bank, and the growth of the business shown in the balance sheet was abundantly evident. The amount of money in the Bank's hands on current, deposit, and other accounts had increased by £14,000,000; cash in hand and at the Bank of England had increased by £4,700,000. The most interesting features were the increase in bills of exchange by £3,000,000, and in loans and advances to customers by £9,000,000, and a decrease of £9,000,000 in the Bank's acceptances. The increase in bills of exchange and in loans and advances were an aftermath of the tremendous trade activity during the last half of 1919, and the first half of 1920. That great activity had died away, and imports had declined, with the result that fewer drafts were drawn upon the Bank, and the figures appearing in the balance sheet under the heading of acceptances had diminished, the reduction having been further emphasized by the fall in price of the produce against which the acceptances were given.

The profit and loss account showed profits, after providing for all doubtful accounts and contingencies, amounting to the satisfactory figure of over £735,000, and but for having had to provide a large sum for depreciation of investments they would have had a handsome surplus available for other purposes. The depreciation in first class investments had been so heavy that they had appropriated £350,000 of the profits to investment reserve account, and had also made other internal provisions. The gratifying result of the year had only been obtained by the intelligent co-operation of the staff in each one of the Bank's Districts, and in recognition of this, as well as in view of the continued high cost of living, the Directors during the year had granted the staff a well-deserved special bonus and special increases of salary.

Reviewing the commercial and economic conditions which had ruled during the past year, the Chairman said the fall in the price of most commodities which had begun towards the end of the spring had continued ever since, and had reached an extent which few, if any, persons anticipated.

The Chairman continued: Not only had the home demand for goods diminished, but the purchasing power of the Foreign Markets seemed in many cases to have almost entirely died away.

The explanation of this extraordinary and regrettable condition appeared to be that buyers could not afford to pay the prices which ruled during the recent boom. The consumer still wanted goods, but could not afford to pay for them anything more than pre-war price, or a price approaching pre-war price. He felt sure that, if prices were to come within reasonable distance of pre-war prices, and if the consumer were then convinced that the bottom of the market had been reached, the need for commodities of all kinds was so great that trade would speedily recover. Just as a year ago supplies were under-estimated, so now the tendency was to greatly under-estimate the eventual demand; and he hoped that when the demand sprang up it would not be killed by extravagant prices.

He was satisfied that at reasonable prices demand would revive, the main point being to ensure that prices should be sufficient to remunerate the producer and at the same time low enough to tempt the consumer. If employers and representatives of labour all over the country and in every trade could get together and quietly examine prices, profits, losses, and the whole problem of cost of production, he could not help thinking that between them they could arrange for such reductions in wages and profits, and such economies as

would enable them to place their commodities on the markets at prices within the buying power of consumers generally. The volume of trade would increase, and the present spectre of unemployment gradually disappear.

The Chairman in further remarks referred to the efforts made by the League of Nations and by our own Government to devise some reasonable and safe Export Credit Scheme, under which British exporters and exporters in other countries might supply goods to buyers in the impoverished countries of Europe without running excessive risk. He said the idea was to encourage the importation into those countries of commodities necessary for the work of reproduction, with a view to start again normal industrial and economic activities. The reaction upon our own and other exporting countries would be to promote commercial enterprise, and increase the employment of labour. He hoped the efforts of our Government would prove successful. So far as the Bank was concerned they would do all in their power to support any reasonable and workable scheme.

Whilst, continued the Chairman, he recognized fully the extent and severity of the existing trade depression, he did not despair of the power of this country to emerge at no distant date from the difficulties through which it is passing. There were some reassuring features. A good deal of sound business was being done in various directions. The Agricultural Industry, though not making the profits enjoyed during recent years, was still prosperous. The cost of food was gradually coming down, and the fall in prices in many commodities, while it caused serious loss in the case of many individual traders, was a relief to other sections of the nation. The recent rise in American Exchange was another favourable factor, inasmuch as it tended to reduce the cost of our imports from the United States. Again, while there had been failures here and there, the fact that there had been no general catastrophe was a great tribute to the economic stability of the country, and he took this opportunity of congratulating, in particular, the Liverpool Cotton Market and the spinners, manufacturers, and merchants in the woollen and cotton districts, upon the courage and ability with which they had confronted the difficulties of the present time. Further, he thought all classes were beginning, though perhaps only just beginning, to recognize that without economy and hard work there could be no prosperity.

There were other favourable indications, and he hoped that when they meet next year it might be under brighter conditions. In the meantime it would be their duty to continue to assist their customers through bad times, as they had assisted them in good times, and to help on every movement which might lead to a revival of sound enterprise.

The Chairman proceeded: You will expect me to refer briefly to the conditions which obtained in the money market during the year. The dominating influence was the strong and persistent demand on the part of many customers for banking credit. Bankers have been criticized for not granting larger credits last year than they did. All I can say is that all Bankers lent out a much larger proportion of their funds than usual to their trading customers, and that if there was any reluctance to give credit, it was because Bankers have to take care not to lock up too much of their deposits in commercial advances, however sound. Speaking for ourselves, I may say that we looked well after our own customers' requirements, and I do not think that any reasonable demand made by them for accommodation was refused, nor was any customer called upon to sacrifice his goods or securities for the purpose of repaying advances granted him by the Bank.

The same demand for credit which obtained in this country also obtained in the United States, and the Bank of England was compelled in April last to raise its Discount Rate to 7 per cent., at which figure it still stands. It is possible that this high rate has had some influence in compelling business men to realize, in a falling market, goods which they would like to have held till a more favourable opportunity, but I think the high rate has now done its work, and I hope before long it may be found possible to reduce Bank rate, and thus lighten the burden which all people are feeling who have to borrow from the Banks at present.

With regard to Government finance, our Government has repaid a considerable amount of both home and foreign

debt, including Great Britain's share of the Anglo-French Loan, which fell due in the United States last Autumn. The result of those repayments, and the fact that our National expenditure is covered by our National income, has done much to maintain the credit of this country abroad. This result has not been achieved, however, without imposing heavy taxation, and I venture to hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will see his way to abate for a time the amount of debt reduction, so as to lighten the burden of taxation at a period when the country is passing through commercial depression.

It is as difficult to prophesy with regard to the future course of the money market, as it is with regard to the fluctuations of foreign exchange, but I think we may look forward to a reduction in the demand for Banking accommodation and to easier financial conditions generally.

One unfortunate incident marked the close of the year, namely, the stoppage of Farrow's Bank, and one deeply regrets the loss and suffering inflicted on the shareholders and customers of that Bank. The incident emphasizes the need for some form of Governmental Banking Licence. The use of the word Bank should be confined to institutions which have been duly authorised to trade as such by a duly constituted authority. The great Banks of the country, including the Savings Banks, are anxious and willing to provide facilities for small depositors. We ourselves have always been ready to receive deposits from one pound upwards, but if there is need for still further facilities, Government ought to see that the small depositor is reasonably protected by a proper system of Banking Licence.

In concluding, the Chairman referred to the retirement of Mr. F. W. Crewdson, who had been a partner in the private banking firm of Wakefield, Crewdson & Co., in the Kendal district, and who when that business was taken over by the Bank of Liverpool and Martins, remained in the position of District General Manager. Mr. Crewdson now desired to retire, and his resignation, which would take effect at the end of this month, had been accepted with regret. He would be available for consultation, and he carried with him the friendship and goodwill of the Directors and of all his colleagues in the Management and on the Staff of the Bank.—(Applause.)

Mr. Isaac H. Storey, a Deputy-Chairman, seconded the motion, and no questions or comments being offered, it was carried unanimously.

The retiring Directors, Sir Fredk. W. Chance, K.B.E., D.L., Sir Wm. B. Forwood, K.B.E., D.L., Mr. A. T. Neilson,

and Lieut.-Col. Sir J. P. Reynolds, D.L., D.S.O., were re-elected, and the Auditors were re-appointed.

Sir Thomas Hughes, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Directors, the Committee of Management, and the General Manager and other officers of the Bank, for their valuable services during the year, said the business-like and commonsense address of the Chairman would go to the hearts of all present. All were satisfied that the Bank had an excellent body of Directors and an excellent Committee of Management, but there was one name he would like to mention specially—that of Sir Wm. Forwood. (Applause.) Sir William was certainly an old veteran, but there was good work in him yet, and though he was not able to be present everyone would wish to congratulate him on having passed through a serious operation, and would trust he might live for many years to render the good service he had always given. As to the General Manager, Sir James Hope Simpson, no words could adequately express the Shareholders' sense of his valuable services. In some further observations, Sir Thomas Hughes, whilst recognising that the matter was one calling for careful consideration, suggested that a number of demobilised men now out of employment, might perhaps be taken into the Bank's service, replacing female clerks who had been employed in the war years.

Mr. Broadfoot seconded, and the motion was carried with acclamation.

Sir James Hope Simpson, Director and General Manager, responded, and desired to testify very warmly to the unremitting, careful, and able devotion the Directors gave to the affairs of the Bank, and also to the great help given by the Committee of Management and all the Local Boards. He also thanked the Assistant General Manager, and the various District Managers for their work. It was a great comfort to have able men about one, and the fact that they had passed through an extremely difficult year with the results the Chairman had stated, was evidence that the officers and staff of the Bank worked well. Replying to Sir Thomas Hughes, Sir James said since the Armistice the Bank had very largely reduced its female staff and had taken back every man who had left and who wanted to come back, and was still taking and absorbing more men as quickly as they could be trained. At the same time, they must give due consideration to the ladies who had rendered invaluable help, without which the Bank could not have been run during the war—(hear, hear)—and if it had not been run during the war there would have been no place for ex-service men at all.

Mr. F. W. Crewdson also responded, and the meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding.

BANK OF LIVERPOOL & MARTINS LIMITED,

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London Office: 68, LOMBARD STREET, LONDON, E.C. 3.

Capital Subscribed	- - - - -	£18,791,120
Capital Paid Up	- - - - -	2,348,890
Reserve Fund and Surplus Profits	- - - - -	1,524,413
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LONDON JOINT CITY AND MIDLAND BANK LIMITED.

THE Ordinary General Meeting of the London Joint City and Midland Bank Limited was held at the Cannon Street Hotel, London, E.C. 4, on January 28th, 1921.

The Right Hon. R. McKenna (Chairman), who presided, said:—

Before I come to the story of our own Bank I should like, with your permission, to make some observations on general financial conditions, with special regard to the influence of financial policy on the industrial and commercial interests of the country. In the intricate and highly developed organisation of our trade, the production, movement and disposal of commodities are largely financed with borrowed money. Banks, which receive deposits at interest and lend to the trade, and traders, who at one time hold money with the banks and at another borrow from them, have a like concern in the conditions governing the facility with which credit can be obtained and the rate of interest charged on loans. From time to time complaint has been made that credit has been unduly restricted and that dear money rates have contributed materially to the trade depression from which the country is suffering. We cannot form an opinion whether this criticism is justified unless we have a clear understanding of our present monetary conditions and of the causes which have given rise to them, and I propose in the first place briefly to examine these conditions.

WHEN BANK RATE IS NOT EFFECTIVE.

The smooth and beneficial working of our central banking system implies the existence of two conditions. In the first place the Bank of England must have control of its own lending powers. It has this control in dealing with the Money Market; but if, as is the case, the Bank is bound to lend when called upon by the Government, and if this right to borrow is habitually exercised, a rise in the Bank Rate will not necessarily check the expansion of credit. Next, the conditions must be such as to permit of a free market in gold. If our currency is at a discount in relation to its nominal gold value, raising the Bank Rate will not attract a single ounce of gold to this country. If either of these conditions fails, and still more if both of them are absent, the Bank of England cannot have the real control which it formerly exercised with such success.

We know that at the present time the Government frequently borrows heavily from the Bank of England. We know also that we have not a free market for gold. The essential conditions for the effective operation of the Bank Rate no longer exist, and we are bound, consequently, to examine afresh in the light of actual circumstances the policy which guides the financial authorities in making money rates high or low and the methods adopted by them to achieve their object.

TREASURY POLICY.

Stated briefly, the Treasury policy declared early last year was, first, to stop further inflation, and then gradually to deflate. We must pause at this point to ask what is meant by inflation and deflation. Both terms are used in a variety of meanings, but with one idea running through them. Inflation is always associated with rising prices, and deflation with falling prices. In the exposition of their policy I understand the Treasury to mean by inflation an increase of purchasing power relative to the amount of goods available for purchase, and by deflation a decrease in purchasing power relative to the amount of goods available for purchase.

BANK LOANS.

First, then, let us consider inflation. An increase of purchasing power without any corresponding increase of commodities, or a reduction of commodities without any reduction of purchasing power, will each produce inflation, which, if expenditure on consumption remains unchanged, will be followed by a rise in prices. Purchasing power is increased by additional bank loans or advances; we take the first step towards inflation when a bank makes a loan or advance.

We must be careful here not to jump to a hasty conclusion. When we look further into the question we shall

find that a serious distinction must be drawn between the various purposes for which a Bank loan is given. The first broad division we must make is between advances required for some purpose of trade or manufacture and advances which enable the borrower to buy something in order to consume it. Loans required for some purpose of trade or manufacture are not usually a case of inflation. When trade is active loans increase in amount, but so likewise does production, and in a healthy condition of affairs the volume of credit and the volume of goods expand together, but not to an extent greater than is necessary to satisfy the requirements of the consumers.

OVER-TRADING AND SPECULATION.

It happens very often however that good trade leads on to inflation. A period of good trade is one in which prices are tending upwards, and manufacturers, merchants, and retail traders are all encouraged by the hope of high profits to buy freely the raw material and finished goods which they require. They buy to sell again in the course of their trade, and their activities speed up the production of commodities and the delivery of the commodities to the consumer. It is not unnatural that the expectation of a high rate of profit should lead to over-trading. The wheels of industry are made to run faster and faster, further recourse is had to the banks, and commodities are produced in greater quantities and at higher prices than the purchasers will be in a position to take and pay for when they are offered for sale. The consequent delay in disposing of the commodities will cause the loans to remain outstanding for a period longer than in the ordinary course of trade, and a condition of inflation will arise.

The evil of over-trading is enhanced moreover by the operations of a class of persons who buy to sell again but with no purpose of assisting production. I refer to speculators who, anticipating the demands of the trader or of the public, buy commodities with the intention of withholding them temporarily from the market and selling them later at a profit when the immediate shortage has driven up prices.

DEAR MONEY AND INFLATION.

If we look back over the history of the last century, we shall find that every period of trade prosperity has culminated in over-trading and speculation, which have been brought to a close by dear money and a severe restriction of credit. A high Bank Rate is the obvious and proper instrument for putting an end to inflation due to this cause. Dear money operates quickly, and in a case of this kind prices can be brought down to their former level before there has been any general readjustment on a new level. The remedy is appropriate to a particular evil which is temporary in its nature, and should be strictly confined to the period during which the evil is in existence.

If inflation were always due to the causes which I have just described, the problem of dealing with it would be simple. Unfortunately, however, at the present time we have to deal with inflation arising from causes other than those with whom we were familiar before the war, an inflation which has not been brought about by over-trading or speculation and which is not temporary in its nature.

In dealing with inflation of the kind with which we are confronted now, dear money and a rigid restriction of credit, so far from proving an effective means of restoring trade to a wholesome condition, can only aggravate our evils. Both sets of causes inducing inflation may be present at the same time, and when this is the case a policy of dear money may be a choice of the less of two evils; but it must never be left out of sight that the inflation, which I will call speculative inflation, is necessarily only temporary, whereas the inflation which, to distinguish it in its causes from the other, I will call monetary inflation, must be regarded as more or less permanent.

In considering monetary inflation it is necessary to ask you to recall the distinction already made between the different kinds of bank advances. So far I have been speaking of the effects of loans made or purporting to be made for some object of trade or manufacture. The second category of bank loans consists of those made in order to enable the borrower to buy commodities for the purpose of consumption. Goods bought to be consumed are not ordinarily paid for out of an advance by a bank. It may happen now

and then that banks make loans for this purpose, but they would be trivial in amount, and are not worth considering in the general view of banking transactions.

MONETARY INFLATION.

There is, however, one case of borrowing for consumption with regard to which there is no such limitation. The inevitable borrowing by the Government during the War, borrowing on a gigantic scale and almost entirely for consumption, compels us to direct our attention to the consequences of this class of loan. The total amount raised in this country for the purpose of the War was about £5,800,000,000, part lent by the public and part by the banks. In my address to you last year I endeavoured to show that in the chain of events this borrowing was the primary cause of the great inflation which took place. As the loans remained outstanding after the commodities bought had been consumed, we reached a true condition of inflation, an immense increase of purchasing power relative to the amount of commodities available for purchase.

PROPOSED POLICY OF DEFLATION IMPRACTICABLE.

Monetary inflation, unlike speculative inflation, is not a temporary condition capable of remedy by raising the Bank Rate and restricting credit. Prices in this case are forced up over a protracted period of time, wages and contracts of all kinds are adjusted to new price levels, and fresh capital is embarked in business on this basis. In circumstances such as these the first effect of an attempt to force down prices by monetary deflation must be to cause severe trade depression. A policy of gradual monetary deflation, but deflation so guarded as not to interfere with production, is a policy impossible of execution. Trade is never good when prices are declining, but the consequences of a continuous fall in prices entailed by dear money and restriction of credit, and accentuated by heavy taxation, must be complete stagnation of business. We have to recognise the fact that trade is carried on for profit, and if business men know that loss is inevitable they will restrict their activities to the utmost.

The first effect then of an attempt at monetary deflation of this kind will be to arrest business. A fall in wholesale prices will follow, due to goods being thrown upon the market by traders who are unable to carry their stocks or have failed in business. There will be a diminution in production, profits will be greatly lessened, and unemployment will grow. This will, in turn, lead to reduced power on the part of wage-earners to spend on consumption and to a further fall in both wholesale and retail prices. Yet the consequences here described can only be the first effects of monetary deflation. The volume of purchasing power brought into existence as a result of the immense War Loans will not have been diminished and it may be expected that this purchasing power will be freely exercised as soon as it is believed that prices have touched bottom. A heavy drop in prices therefore can only be temporary.

There is, indeed, reason to think that a further period of inflation will follow. In consequence of the trade depression there will be a great decline in national revenue without any diminution of the permanent liabilities of the Government, who will be obliged to increase taxation or to borrow. In the present over-burdened condition of the country, however, new taxes can only met by traders borrowing from their banks, and it will follow that, whether by the Government or by the taxpayers, recourse will be made to bank loans, and credit inflation will ensue.

If permanent monetary deflation is to be accomplished, it can only be by a reduction of the purchasing power brought into existence by the great War Loans, a reduction which can only be effected by paying off part of the National Debt. But there is no means of doing this by the imposition of additional taxation without bringing immediate ruin upon our commerce and manufacture. In present circumstances the only source from which funds can be obtained for repayment of the National Debt is by economy in expenditure, and by this means alone can monetary deflation be effected, or even attempted, without permanent injury to our trade.

EFFECT OF PROPOSED DEFLATION ON GOVERNMENT LIABILITIES.

Let us look at the policy of monetary deflation, to be obtained by a high Bank Rate and a restriction of credit, from another point of view. Let us suppose that it were practicable by the process to bring prices permanently down to the pre-war level. What sort of charge would our

National Debt then mean to us? It stands to-day at £7,770,000,000, mostly borrowed when money was worth very much less than before the War. With prices back to their former level, the true burden of the Debt would be more than doubled, or, in other words, the creditor would receive a huge premium at the expense of the debtor. Let us suppose our object accomplished and prices brought back to the 1914 level. A penny in the £ of Income Tax would produce, as it did before the War, about £3,000,000. Economise our national expenditure as we would, we could not escape from the annual charge for interest on the National Debt and unavoidable sinking fund which would be not less than £350,000,000. The charge for War Pensions, £120,000,000, is also irreducible. These two heads of expenditure alone give a total of £470,000,000, which, if we left the whole of the remaining cost of government to be defrayed out of our other revenue, would call for an Income Tax of over 13s. in the £, a rate absolutely impossible for any country to bear.

I think I have said enough to show that an attempt at monetary deflation of this kind can only end in the strangulation of business and widespread unemployment. I have shown next that this kind of deflation cannot be effected at all unless the cause which produced the inflation is removed, that is to say, unless part of the immense Government loans is repaid, and that there is no means of doing this except by economy in expenditure. We need to stabilise prices, and when inflation is due to temporary causes we must not only check it but force deflation until the former price level is restored. Any premature attempt, however, at monetary deflation by methods which do not touch the causes that have produced the inflation, must lead to disaster. Great unemployment will ensue, and the nation will be faced with social evils of a different kind, though not less serious, than those resulting from inflation.

HOW DEFLATION CAN BE EFFECTED.

It must not be overlooked, however, that deflation can be obtained in another way. If we increase the commodities available for purchase without any increase of purchasing power, we shall deflate and prices will fall. Deflation of this kind can be effected without producing the evils to which I have just referred. The fall in prices will be very gradual, and though a less rate of profit will be made than if prices were stable, it will be on a larger quantity, and there can still be room for a fair return on capital and a fair reward for labour. This is the kind of deflation at which we ought to aim—a deflation which will be brought about by a larger supply of the commodities we all need, a greater surplus for foreign export, and a larger total of real wealth.

Our financial policy then should be one which will stimulate production and trade. The only condition under which 47 millions of people can live in these islands, not merely tolerably, but live at all, is that our output should be up to the highest level of our industrial capacity, and that the surplus of goods which we do not consume ourselves should be freely exchanged for the imported food and raw materials which are essential to our existence.

EUROPE NEEDS PEACE.

The economic restoration of Europe should to-day be our first concern. If we neglect it our whole foreign trade will contract and decay. The commerce of the world must be considered as one vast whole, and if a large section of it is severed from the rest what remains will be gravely impaired. If the broken countries of Europe are not restored even the still solvent States will slip one by one into the general ruin. A remedy must be found, and found quickly. But what remedy? I do not think there can be much doubt as to what Europe needs at the present time. She needs peace; not merely the peace of pacts and treaties, but peace born of the spirit of peace, when the nations "shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks." The Governments of Europe have made peace, but they have not yet accepted the conditions of peace. Once these conditions are accepted the way will be clear before us. The European States will be able to bring their expenditure down to the limits prescribed by their revenue; the issue of paper currency will cease; the exchanges will be stable; confidence will revive, and full employment will follow. These are the terms upon which Europe can be restored, and with the restoration of Europe will come the revival of our own national prosperity.

The Report was adopted and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

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